THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 110, NO. 25 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1944 NUMBER 1542

The Bridgehead Is Established

At the end of the first week of the invasion, cautious optimism regarding the outcome was possible. We held about 600 square miles of the Normandy beach, with the Germans, as an Allied military spokesman grimly reminded us, in possession of about two million square miles of Europe. Russia's new drive into Finland was marked by strong initial success. In Normandy, bad weather had hampered our operations for most of the first week, which raises the question whether our advance meteorological work has been as good as it should have been. Neither side had yet committed its full strength to the struggle on the Cherbourg Peninsula. The Germans were still waiting to see whether this was only a feint and the main blow would come elsewhere; the Allies were putting ashore men enough to cope with the immediate situation but were not risking disaster by a tremendous concentration in an area too small for large numbers to be used effectively. The two great factors in our favor were clear dominance in the air and clear dominance on the sea. It was these which gave us the strongest hope of ultimate victory.

Inflationists in Congress

Congress used the week of the invasion for a commando raid of its own on the pocketbooks of American consumers. Various venal special interests bargained with one another for reciprocal votes to force inflation. The cotton industry supported the Bankhead plan to lay an extra burden of a quarter to a third of a billion dollars on purchasers of cotton fabrics. The oil interests got together for a grab estimated at eight-tenths of a billion annually. Other inflationists made a general assault on all prices, in the interest of a selfishness which is blind to the general welfare. *As we go to press it looks as if a presidential veto is our only resource in holding the line against inflation.*

What about de Gaulle?

The invasion begins with the relations between the French Provisional Government and the Allies very nearly at their worst point. It is true that either President Roosevelt has invited de Gaulle to Washington, or he has accepted de Gaulle's broad hint that he would like to come; but that has not prevented bitter criticism by the French of several actions. De Gaulle, it is reported, wanted to go to France when General Montgomery did; he was refused permission. He objected to the Eisenhower broadcast, with its pointed ignoring of the French Provisional Government. He objects to the printing of French francs in London which are being used in France by the invasion forces. Writing in The New York Herald Tribune, Geoffrey Parsons Jr. says Mr. Churchill threatened bluntly to send General de Gaulle back to Algiers. Surely nothing in the whole history of de Gaulle or the French Provisional Government justifies this extraordinary treatment at the moment when we need more than ever before the utmost loyalty of every French patriot.

Crisis in China

In our excitement about the new front in France, we ought not to overlook the serious situation in China. As General Stillwell has reported, there is danger at this point of a victory by the Japanese which might prolong the war in the East for years.

CONTENTS

The Week 799
Editorial
The End of the German Myth 802
General Articles
The All-Out Offensive . . . Max Werner 804
The Shape of the War . . George Soule 805
In the Wake of Liberation . . Max Lerner 807
History of the Second Front . . Ralph Bates 809
D-Day . Richard Lee Strout and Michael Young 811
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 815
Andersen's Fairy Tale . . . Manny Farber 816
The Bandwagon 816
Correspondence 817
Books in Review
The Might of the President . Walton Hamilton 819
India Finds a Voice . . Robert Morss Lovett 820
Mrs. Fischer's Russia . . Granville Hicks 822
The Malthusian Situation . Guy Irving Burch 824
Civil Liberty in America . Heinz H. F. Eulau 824
A Reader's List 825

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1944, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If they capture Changsha, and go on to split northern China from southern, our probable success in reopening the Burma Road will still not offer enough help to the major Chinese forces.

What is needed more than anything else is a major port on the Chinese mainland. Continued Japanese occupation of this area would make the task of obtaining one an operation nearly as serious as the opening of the European "second front" itself. In that case any Allied armies advancing north from Burma or the Malay Peninsula would find a formidable barrier in their way, and we might become dependent on a landing operation somewhat like that aimed at Cherbourg. An equally difficult alternative would be similar operations on the coast of Japan.

Delay in the Pacific war may thus carry a heavy price. In so far as that delay was inevitable in view of the need for taking the aggressive in Europe, we do not regret it, but in so far as it may have been the result of any difficulty in reaching a basis of cooperation with the British in Asia, it is an expensive error indeed.

The Vice President's Services

The difficulties in China are not entirely military. They are also the result of internal splits—for instance, that between the so-called Communist armies and those of the Generalissimo, and that between the democratic and the dictatorial forces in the Kuomintang itself. The government is heavily dependent on war lords and landlords who, if faced with the choice, might be more eager to save their property and power than to defeat the Japanese. It is thus fortunate for the Allied cause that Mr. Wallace is now arriving in China, or is about to arrive there. So important an emissary for the cause of democracy may help in a ticklish situation at a critical moment. His sincerity, sobriety and convictions are such that he ought to be no mean advocate. If he does swing the balance, he will have performed a service for his country that might otherwise have required a large and well equipped army.

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Face of War Hasn't Changed

Incidentally, why does the press pay so little attention to Vice President Wallace's activities so far? We understand that the speeches he has made in Siberia (in the Russian language) have created a very favorable impression. It might be as well to hear of this as of Eric Johnston's antics in Moscow. We probably should, if the press were as keen to reëlect Mr. Wallace as it is to push Mr. Johnston.

Success in Italy

The drama of the invasion overshadowed our remarkable victory in Italy, which nevertheless is of great importance, not only in a military sense, but politically. The advance of our armies north of Rome has at some times reached a speed of 25 miles a day. Too often, in this war, our incorrigibly optimistic daily newspapers have talked about a German retreat turning into a panic-stricken rout, when subsequent events proved it was nothing of the kind; but for once the term seems pretty well justified. The severe defeat above Rome unhinged the Germans' entire line, forcing a general withdrawal, across the peninsula. Their situation is grave and must be an added handicap to the already heavily burdened General Staff in Berlin.

Badaglio Is Out

Political events in Italy have moved in the right direction since the fall of Rome. The King kept his promise and, while he did not abdicate, he turned over authority to his son, Prince Humbert. Humbert is a pretty poor excuse for a monarch, and is certainly not anti-fascist, but he is a little better than Victor. Badoglio has been forced out and replaced by Ivanoe Bonomi, a leading Italian liberal and head of the Committee of National Liberation. We have no doubt that Bonomi represents the wishes of the majority of the Italian people; and we have no doubt, either, that this majority would prefer a republic to any other form of government. President Roosevelt has repeatedly pledged that America will aid the Italians to get whatever government they want; we hope that pledge will now be carried out.

Doubtless we shall now see a renewal of the familiar debate between American liberals and such State Department apologists as Mr. Arthur Krock of The New York Times. The liberals will say that since the Allied governments have at last done what they have been recommending all the time, the action proves the liberals were right and the governments were wrong. The State Department's friends will insist, on the contrary, that the action had been impossible until this moment, that it had always been intended, that the liberals never knew what they were talking about and that they should suspend all future criticism and just trust Mr. Hull. We hereby cast one vote on the side which says that the liberals were right.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Mississippi Conspiracy

It would be more accurate to describe the Democratic state convention held in Jackson, Mississippi, on June 7, as a Republican meeting. The men who are working to swing a Southwide bloc of convention delegates and presidential electors away from the Democratic nominee unless he agrees to a set of undemocratic "demands" as to white supremacy and the maintenance of poll taxes were on hand in Mississippi with as much strength and preparation as they had shown at the Texas state convention a short time before. The top strategy stemmed chiefly from the same Northern Republicans who master-minded the Texas putsch. Pew and Gannett and duPont found the Mississippi reports as pleasing to them as the Texas ones had been. The Southern stooges of the Northern interests were on hand to play out the carefully planned game.

Henchmen of the anti-Roosevelt Connor machine had worked Mississippi thoroughly in a well financed drive to line up convention delegates who would go along with the plot to steal the state vote. Everybody knew that the anti-Roosevelt forces wouldn't have a chance if the voters were allowed to decide which side Mississippi was on. The stooges did their work well and the packed convention did their bidding.

The Republocratic gang engineering the supposed Southern "revolt" against the New Deal appears well satisfied with the results of the Mississippi convention. But the New Dealers have legal remedies up their sleeves which may yet upset these new carpetbaggers.

Not Enough

President Roosevelt has now adopted the idea of free ports for refugees, first put forward by Samuel Grafton in The New York Post. One thousand European refugees will be admitted to the United States and maintained at Fort Ontario, Oswego, New York. Just as goods enter a free port without paying duty, provided they are reëxported at a later date, these refugees will be permitted to stay for a time in this country regardless of passport and visa restrictions. This is a good idea; but why in the world should it be limited to one thousand, a tiny proportion of the refugees who are urgently in need of assistance? We take it for granted this is a trial balloon on the part of the President, to see what the public reaction is. We hope the public will now react by saying that to take a thousand refugees is about as humanitarian as giving a single drop of water to a man dying of thirst.

Relief for Europe

On the Saturday afternoon before our invasion of Europe, the reactionary Republicans in Congress banded together to strike a serious blow at the United Nations' plans for bringing relief and rehabilitation to the liberated peoples. Republican Representative O'Hara of Minnesota rose before an almost empty House to challenge, on a point of order, the Appropriations Committee's report calling for a grant of $800,000,000 to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The committee's report was certainly a conservative recommendation in view of the fact that the Congress had previously approved a United States quota of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. Representative Cannon and other Democrats attempted to defend the appropriation, pointing out how doubly necessary immediate action was now that tremendous European requirements for food, clothing and other things are so imminent, but they were outshouted and outvoted by Republicans like the lady Representative from Illinois, Jessie Sumner, who added this great thought to the debate: "If the UNRRA scheme is humanitarian, so is keeping a gigolo."

The House has now approved a grant of $450,000,000 of the $1,350,000,000 this country has solemnly promised to UNRRA. The British have already appropriated their full pledge. So has the Republic of Iceland. If UNRRA is to function properly, the United States must live up to its commitments at once.

Ending the Insurance Racket

The New Republic has reported on several occasions plans of the insurance companies' lobby—one of the strongest in Washington—to jam through legislation forbidding any federal control over their activities. The lobby was working feverishly in expectation that the Supreme Court would hand down a decision adverse to their desires; and this the Court has now done. It has ruled that fire insurance is a commodity in interstate commerce and therefore subject to the Sherman Act. Since this is the case, life insurance ought to and presumably will be in the same boat. In the past insurance has been subject to control by the states only; and it would be more correct to say that insurance controlled the states than vice versa. The decision should save policy holders hundreds of millions of dollars, and put an end to many undesirable practices. It is hard to believe that the insurance lobby and its friends in Congress will now have the brass-bound nerve to seek new legislation restoring the old racket of state control.

How the Radio Did

One of the minor events of the first invasion week was the performance of the American radio. It was prompt enough in bringing us the first news flashes, but after that it rapidly diminished the radio-hours devoted to listening by its eager audience.

Those of us who were lucky enough to be tuned in at the right moments heard the news flashes as soon as they came over. After that, the same brief dispatches would be repeated, ad nauseam, in the guise of bulletins just handed to the announcer. Between would come

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

torrents of color material and comments. The best of these were very good indeed, but were repeated far too often for the conscientious listener to rival networks, and most of them were a poor substitute for news. After hours of frustration, we were hardly thankful to the commercial sponsors who, it was regularly announced, gave up their bought time for the sake of the invasion reports, first making sure that the names of their products and their advertising slogans were clearly repeated so that they might receive the essential publicity after all. It was not the fault of the radio authorities that more genuine news was not given out more often. They correctly decided that the public was bent on hearing it. But the planning was chaotic, and the return to something like the regular periodic newscasts was a relief.

Jim Farley Resigns

James Aloysius Farley has resigned his last official office in the Democratic Party, the chairmanship of the New York State Democratic Committee. This marks the end of 35 years of active party work for Big Jim, from town clerk of Stony Point, New York, to political chief of the Roosevelt administration.

Democrats who know Jim Farley and something of what he has been up to since his resignation as chairman of the Democratic National Committee before the '40 election take his resignation as an open declaration of war against the President in the event of a fourth-term contest. Jim Farley had to fight the third term from undercover, since, according to the politicians' code, a party man stands by the party's choice of nominees. This time, apparently, Farley does not intend to be bound by any such restrictions.

This magazine has maintained a more than casual interest in Mr. Farley's comings and goings since he left the President to sell Coca-Cola. We have reported his frequent business trips, as director of Coca-Cola's export division, to such foreign climes as Texas, Louisiana and Kansas. Some of Farley's most intimate friends are letting it be known that Jim is willing to become the sacrificial lamb for the anti-Roosevelt forces at the Democratic National Convention. We are glad that the President's once close friend is now out in the open as one of his greatest enemies today.

The Neutrals Get into Line

On the very eve of the invasion the Allies won a substantial victory when Portugal agreed to suspend all shipment of wolfram, needed for high-grade steel, to Germany. Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, is smart enough to read the handwriting on the wall. He now knows that an Allied victory is as certain as anything can be in an uncertain world and no doubt he has been told that Portugal cannot now help our enemies and then expect to enjoy our friendship after the war. Sweden, also, seems to be preparing to curtail her trade with Germany. If she ships ballbearings in the future, apparently they are to be sizes that are not used in military equipment. Only Spain remains a real problem, and that largely because of Churchill's amazing desire to cater to Franco. In fact, it now seems probable that the Franco regime would be overthrown in the near future were it not for Churchill's support.

Gerald P. Nye

Progressive Republicans in North Dakota have a chance to remove from the Senate one of its least desirable members, in the primary election on June 27. Gerald P. Nye is running for renomination, and reports from North Dakota say there is a real hope of defeating him. It is hardly necessary at this late date to tell our readers of Senator Nye's record, which has consistently been one of isolationism and appeasement abroad, and of dubious progressivism at home. In The New Republic's most recent chart, he is shown to have voted on the reactionary side on nine issues out of eighteen, and to have been absent once. He voted against appropriating funds for the National Resources Planning Board, thus turning his back on constructive national planning for America's future. He voted several times against subsidies and price control—that is, in favor of inflation and against the interest of the overwhelming majority of his own constituents. He was against the federal proposal for soldiers' voting. He was against using cloture in the poll-tax fight in 1942, which means that he stood with the Southerners in their battle to perpetuate the poll tax, which disfranchises at least 80 percent of the electorate in those states. The Senate would be substantially improved by the removal of Gerald P. Nye from its midst.

The End of the German Myth

NO ONE CAN DOUBT that when the Allied soldiers went ashore on the coast of France on the morning of June 6, the last phase of the war began. In all probability it will still be long and bloody; indeed, the first days on the beaches were far more costly than most Americans, judging by the early complacency of press and radio, seemed to realize. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to believe that the Allies will win in the end, both over Germany and Japan. The English, quoted by Richard Lee Strout in this issue of The New Republic, are correct when they say that the question is not who will win the war, but how long it will last.

The invasion itself is of course only one in a series of operations under the grand strategy of the Allies, including the landings in North Africa, the supplying of Lend-Lease materials on a great scale to Russia, the bombing of Japanese-held islands and the operations in Burma. Nevertheless, the first landings on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French coast had a psychological value greater, in all probability, than anything else in the whole war, including even Stalingrad. For those landings were the final nail in the coffin where lies buried the myth of German invincibility.

Sensible people throughout the world never for one moment accepted the Nazi doctrine of "Aryan superiority." They were well aware that the scientists who study anthropology and allied subjects know that in its potentialities one race is the same as another. Yet all of us have a tendency to believe any statement made often enough and in a sufficient number of ingenious forms; and at the beginning the Nazis were extremely skillful in spreading the notion of their efficiency, ingenuity and resourcefulness. Before the war, German chemical science and electrical and metallurgical technology were known to be highly developed. In the early days of the war, when they were picking off, one by one, small nations which were without proper defenses, but could not have held out long even if they had had them, the Nazis gave a good imitation of practically irresistible power. It is hardly surprising, then, that we overrated them for so long. A majority of the professional military experts of the United States gave the Russians only six weeks or two months, after the German attack. And no matter how many times the stories were proved untrue, each additional German announcement of terrifying new secret weapons was likely in those days to send a chill down your spine.

But now, and for the first time, the German military machine has been deflated down to its actual size. As the fighting before Cassino in Italy and on the Cherbourg Peninsula have demonstrated, the Germans are still tough and resourceful; but that is all that one can say for them. On the ground they appear no better, man for man, than our own ground troops. In the air, the consistent record proves that our fliers are better both as pilots and as gunners. But most of all, the Nazi myth of an invulnerable Westwall has been shattered. After the Dieppe raid, Hitler boasted publicly that the "military idiots" who opposed him would never again be able to set foot on the European continent for as long as nine hours. Well, Hitler has been proved once again to be a liar. His Westwall was formidable in some places, much less so in others. But over a stretch of fifty miles, Americans, Canadians and British have stormed all his bastions, the strong and the weak alike, paying in each case whatever was the necessary price in blood. Long before that, of course, they had breached his fortress walls in Italy. To say the Westwall was a hoax would be a cruel injustice to the gallant soldiers of the United Nations who have given up their lives in crossing the sands, scaling the cliffs or dropping from the skies by parachute or glider to effect the bridgehead. The point is that at long last and after all our hopes and fears, we have gone ashore and stayed there. In spite of the precarious position in which we still find ourselves, it is impossible to believe that we shall lose our bridgehead, or shall be unable to establish others—perhaps many of them.

The myth of German power which finally came to an end on June 6 had already, of course, been badly damaged at Stalingrad and during last winter's long retreat of the "supermen" westward into Rumania and Poland. The most industrialized nation in Europe had been beaten at its own game of industrialization for war purposes, partly by British and American factories, but mainly, so far as the Eastern front is concerned, by the power of once despised Russia. The humorless fanatics with blazing eyes who goosestepped so triumphantly across Europe winning victories against enemies one-tenth as strong as themselves offer a different picture when they fall back ignominiously before a foe who meets them on substantially even terms.

With the death of the Nazi myth of invincibility, fascism itself died in this world. It was a doctrine that had to be successful or it was nothing. You cannot argue that the world belongs to you because you are strong, and then demonstrate publicly that those you assumed to be weak are stronger than you are. You cannot argue that the lie is justified because it works, in the presence of overwhelming testimony that the truth has worked, and is working, even better. You cannot continue to prate about soft and decadent democracy in the face of a triumphant demonstration that democracy is able to fight at least as well as you can. The whole monstrous dream is now ended. To be sure, we may still have many months of heavy loss ahead of us; indeed, it is probable that most of the suffering, for our people, is still to come. But the danger, so grimly real two or three years ago, that the fascists would win, would control the world, and that all the fundamental decencies of Western civilization might be destroyed, perhaps for decades, perhaps forever—that danger has gone into limbo with the advance of our soldiers across the sands of Normandy.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The All-Out Offensive

THE LANDINGS on the Normandy coast are still a limited operation. It is an operation limited, first in space: as these lines are written, the Allied beachhead is hardly more than fifty miles long. It is also limited in the size of the forces participating —only the first echelon of the great invasion army has been thrown into battle. General Eisenhower still has a tremendous amount of power in the British Isles. The operation is limited, too, in military objectives. The United States-British blows now are aimed neither at the destruction of major German forces nor at the seizure of decisive centers of German defense on the Continent. Our troops are now fighting to conquer the marshaling ground necessary for the deployment in depth of forces adequate for further attack.

The new battle of France is still in its preliminary phase. Yet even the first echelon of invasion is a lever destined to overturn the whole strategic situation in Europe. The starting of the invasion is already a definite commitment; it cannot be canceled or suspended. It opens a new dynamics of the war.

Without doubt, the situation on the Western front is more critical for the anti-Hitler coalition than on the fronts elsewhere in Europe. In the East, the Red Army has clear superiority; in Italy the greater strength of British-American weapons has been proved by the victories of the last five weeks. But on French soil it is the Wehrmacht that has numerical superiority against the first wave of invading troops. It has the further advantage of supply bases on the Continent. In this phase of the battle the Anglo-American troops are attacking with weaker forces and must rely on local superiority only, at chosen points. Moreover, they must crush the powerful defensive installations of the enemy. On the Eastern front and in Italy the Red Army and the Anglo-American troops have only offensive tasks before them; there German strategy is bound to the defensive. In the West, however, the Wehrmacht will launch strong counter-offensives. In this phase of the campaign here the American and British forces will have to wage combined offensive-defensive battles.

In the West there will arise military emergencies which must be met by quick actions of complicated strategic design. It should not be hard to compensate effectively for German numerical superiority on French soil. The Allies have in their main base in the British Isles power superior to the German forces in all of Western Europe. The final preponderance of the Allied weapons is unquestionable, but the temporary German surplus of power must be neutralized.

The general solution consists, of course, in bringing a maximum of Allied power to the Continent in the shortest possible time. The beachhead in Normandy must be strengthened and transformed into an armed camp and a springboard for further offensives. But best for the defensive in the West are new offensives. The first week of the invasion has proved a military fact of tremendous importance: *We can land.* Pouring of almost unlimited forces into the French theatre of war is possible. This is not a problem of transport and supply only, but of the design of the battle.

The beachhead in Normandy must be relieved by new offensive operations, by new sectors of invasion. In the West, too, there will be a "war of many fronts," that is to say, in the space between the Bay of Biscay and the Danish coasts, many battle sectors must be combined, each supporting and strengthening the others. It is necessary both to tie up and to disperse German reserves in the West by simultaneous blows. The invasion can succeed only as an all-out offensive. In the West, concentration of power is possible only through battle, for there the deployment of forces requires the extension of front lines and the establishing of new sectors.

The "war on many fronts" in the West may become a military reality in the sense that the Allied High Command will have to coördinate many disconnected sectors into one major action. But the Western front will profit especially from the great all-European strategy of war on many fronts. The Italian campaign and the battle of Normandy are only a prelude to the Battle of Europe which will develop this summer. At mid-June no more than perhaps 10 percent of those forces which will enter into action in the East, West and South this summer have as yet participated in actual fighting. The greatest relief and support to the Western front will be brought by the coming Red Army offensive; and conversely the Russian offensive will now, for the first time, be furthered by the genuine, the big second front.

The first week of the invasion has already refuted two main German strategic ideas: that of protracted war and that of the impenetrability of German defense. With the start of total war against Germany, with an offensive in the West which can only be an all-out offensive, the pace of the war has changed. Hitler cannot prolong the war at his will. In this phase of the fighting, protracted war is a German conception and a German hope. Our principles now are dynamic war, war of movement, quick victory. On the other hand, the breaching of the Atlantic wall is the symbolic blow against the conception of the German absolute defense, committed to hold at any price the outer border of Europe. The German High Command has no strategic variation in store to fight against deep Anglo-American-Russian penetrations into Europe. MAX WERNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Shape of the War

In pauses between the dispatches about the momentous events in northern France, it may be interesting to think of the war as a whole, in a broader perspective of time and space. What do we know about its grand strategy that was not apparent a few months or even days ago? The layman in military affairs cannot pretend to understand it as an expert, and even if he knew the inner details he could not reveal anything that would help the enemy. Yet we are all entitled to speculate about the main outlines that are taking form.

In the first place, the answers are becoming clearer to some of the major controversies which have raged about the planning of the war leaders.

Japan or Germany First?—There was the argument about whether the United States should attempt to defeat first its Eastern or its Western enemy. An early theory was that we should throw all our resources against Hitler, and then when he was finished turn the other way. For the moment it looks as if this were the actual plan of campaign. Yet the bold strokes of the navy in the Pacific since last summer should make us suspicious of too long a quiet in that area. There may come a time even while the European invasion is progressing when the headlines will again tell of the Asiatic war.

The actual decision of this question appears fairly clear. Apparently the answer was not either, but both. In both theatres we have taken the aggressive for many months, driving the enemy back from his outlying conquests. In both, this was a necessary preliminary to striking at his heart. We could do both at once because the Pacific war required a concentration of fighting ships and the European war a concentration of ground forces, while our resources were sufficient to provide the necessary air power for each without robbing the other. Of course the navy has had much to do in the Atlantic and Mediterranean also, in combating the submarine, convoying ships and covering landing operations. But this required for the most part a different type of ship and operation. And we shall not be able to use anything like as large concentration of land forces in Asia, at least not until the navy has done there the major part of its job.

With good luck this summer, the Allied arms will probably bring about German surrender before Japan is brought to her knees. Then there will be greater power available to concentrate in Asia. But even if this power were free now, we should be hard put to it to use any more than is at present active in the Eastern theatre. It is probable that even if we were not fighting Germany at all, the defeat of Japan could not be much hastened. The fact remains that we are fighting a two-front war with offensives on both at once.

Air Power or Foot Soldier?—Was the invasion necessary? Could we have forced German capitulation with bombing alone? The answer will now never be surely known, but as our armies advance and German resistance develops we shall learn how grievously the bombing already done has injured the enemy's power. This bombing has for months been carried on with a scope and intensity which it would be difficult greatly to increase if we were relying on air warfare alone. The mere matter of obtaining enough suitable bases would have set a limit to what could be done by this means. Certainly, if the official reports have not been gross exaggerations, those in command of the bombing have not overlooked much in the way of strategic manufacturing plants, communications or defenses. Only those targets out of reach until the Russian shuttle bases were open seem to have remained untouched.

It may be that the air-power advocates will win their argument by a demonstration that about all there is left for the infantry and armor to do is to roll in and take over. But that possibility seems remote indeed. It now appears that in this argument too the right answer is not either, but both. There is little doubt that through the most savage bombing campaign which it was possible to wage, air supremacy itself has been won, and the Luftwaffe must before long be destroyed if it is not held out of battle. Important damage of other kinds has been done. But every indication is that artillery is also needed to do things which bombs cannot do, and that even when the artillery gets through, there is still plenty of work left for other weapons and even for personal combat.

Was the "Second Front" Too Late?—Ever since Hitler attacked Russia the advocates of a second front have been vocal. That their main contention was correct few ever doubted, and if the invasion is successful, it will, as they prophesied, end the war. But the real question was whether it should have been attempted a year or two ago, instead of four years after Hitler stood on the shores of the English Channel.

Some of those who urged earlier action feared that without it, no matter how ill prepared we might be, Russia would be knocked out of the war and so the chance ever to defeat Hitler would be lost. Their fears have been proved wrong. The judgment that it was better to wait until complete preparation had been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made, meanwhile reinforcing the Soviet Union's power of resistance as much as possible and carrying on a less ambitious preliminary campaign in Africa and Italy, has been proved at least a safe one.

What Kind of Invasion? – We come next to an examination of the kind of military action this invasion actually is. If invasion had been undertaken earlier, as it might conceivably have been, it would necessarily have had a different character. It would not have been so well prepared, or backed by such overwhelming force. In that case it would have been more in the nature of a dashing adventure, relying for success more on strategic surprise, on the military genius of the commanders, on still more bloody sacrifices and heroism of those engaged, possibly on luck as well. Its success would not have been judged by the possibility of a relatively prompt series of decisive battle, but rather by the possibility of injuring and embarrassing the enemy and of holding on like grim death while behind the lines the preparation to deliver a crushing blow went forward.

Actually, the Allied command has been thinking of the undertaking in entirely different terms. It has enormous respect for the German army, its industrial support, its weapons, its human material, and above all, its officers. The first premise of the Allied strategy was that the United Nations possess an enormous supremacy of the material and human resources for war, and that the proper course was to bring this supremacy to bear. The risks involved in taking the time necessary to do so were less than the risk of trying to defeat the Germans with inferior or even equal forces.

The plan as it is developing appears to be to present to the German high command, not a problem difficult to solve, but a problem impossible to solve. Of course this does not mean that we cannot lose if important mistakes are made or if everyone concerned does not do his job to the best of his ability. It does not mean that the highest courage and skill are not demanded of the soldiers or that many need not give their lives. Superiority in weapons, supplies and manpower can never be a substitute for determined fighting. But we are not relying on miracles.

Take, for example, the judgment which Rommel must make about how far he should commit himself in opposing the Normandy bridgehead. If he throws in his tactical reserves, the Allies can, given the initiative which their superior strength has assured them, engage these reserves successfully while making a landing at another point which they were supposed to cover. If he calls on his strategic reserves, he may find himself outflanked by a wholly separate invasion in a different sector, such as the low countries, the South of France or Denmark. On the other hand, if he does not employ enough strength to contain the Normandy bridgehead, it can be continuously developed until it becomes a broad avenue for the full Allied strength.

With both the initiative and superior power in every department, we apparently do not need to commit ourselves and so allow the enemy the opportunity of a smashing counter-offensive. We can force him to commit himself so that no matter what he does, he can be caught off balance. It was probably for this reason that the Allied commanders did not completely synchronize the offensive on all fronts. First Italy, then Normandy. Will it be Russia next? And if so, at what point in the line? We have educated the enemy to believe that we may strike at other places in the west. As long as we hold off he has to be prepared for all possibilities. This means he can deal less effectively with those fronts which are active. It means that our choices of time and place can be calculated to exploit his weakness.

Of course we could have brought all our power to bear as soon as possible at every possible point, and then relied on brute attrition to wear him down. But this would have been to allow more scope for the extensive possibilities of a clever defensive warfare. The time will come when all our power will be concentrated for a crushing blow. But it is apparent that if the plans are successful, the enemy will have been weakened as much as possible by compelling him to make an error at every turn, instead of allowing him scope to exploit such advantages of position as he has.

Our high command appears to have substituted the strategy of the impossible alternative for the strategy of surprise. This is the most effective way to make use of its overwhelming power and thorough preparation. We have advertised widely what the enemy could not help knowing, but we have made it impossible for him to act in such a way as to prevent us from surprising him in detail. Since he had insufficient men to keep us from landing with superior force at each of a hundred possible beaches, we could land at any one we chose. Since he cannot concentrate against one beachhead without leaving others thinly protected, we can exploit whichever ones he neglects. So we can either smash or filter into Europe until our armies are superior to anything he can throw against them.

It is considerations such as these which give us hope that God will again be on the side of the biggest battalions. And when the whole world is in arms, that means that aggressive conquerors cannot win. Their only hope is to subdue the peoples and the peaceful nations before they can unite and gird for battle. This time, as before in our history, democracy, though caught unprepared and slow to anger, held off the threat until it could be countered. It was a narrow escape, and it may not happen again. Yet it is better to be on the side which eventually can mobilize the greatest resistance, even though at first unarmed, than to be armed to the teeth but an enemy of the world.

GEORGE SOULE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Wake of Liberation

All armies have ideas traveling with them as camp-followers. What will be the political ideas and the structure of civil power that will come in the wake of our liberating armies, moving inland into France and beyond? I know that the heavy fighting following the landings is still ahead, that the big casualties are to come, and that it is hard today to think of anything other than the chances of victory and when we shall achieve it. Yet if in terms of political policy we bungle France and northern Italy (and whatever follows them) as we bungled North Africa and Sicily and southern Italy, we shall store up a desolate harvest for Europe's generations.

One of the Allied officers has said that the cracking of Hitler's European fortress will have to be, to a larger degree than any of us understand, an inside job. If that is so, then a generous political policy in the wake of the invasion should—quite apart from the moral questions and the question of European freedom and stability—pay off in immediate military dividends.

The men to do the inside job are ready. It is estimated that there are a million of them, organized, cohesive, active, in France alone. There are other millions elsewhere in the fortress—Tito's armies, the workers in the northern Italian cities, the grim men and women in Belgium and Holland, in Greece and Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, and even among the twelve million who form the foreign workers' corps inside Germany itself. Call all these what you will—the Underground, the Resistance, partisans, guerrillas. Their names are more diverse than the fires that stir in them. When their countries were first overrun they hid arms away toward a time of liberation like this. We have dropped more arms to some of them. Their work begins after the landings, as our armies move inland. Their function is the same as that of the paratroopers whom we are dropping down behind enemy lines—to destroy enemy communications, to sabotage enemy troop movements, to blow up or guard vital bridges, to take strategic points by surprise. Only instead of dropping down from the skies like the paratroopers, they come up from underground where the darkness and the long wait have made them into coiled engines of destruction.

They will fight—both for themselves and for us—for they have long been waiting for this event. Some in America and in England have felt that the invasion has been long coming: but think how much longer it has been in the coming for these others, who have had to eat the crumbs the conqueror-tyrant left them, seasoned by the gall of his quisling lieutenants. They will fight if only out of hate and despair. They will help our armies. And they will make no stipulations in their aid, for to them—as to all men who have waited long—first things come first, and imperatives admit no qualification.

But if after the enemy is destroyed we do not recognize the continuing common cause that the Allied powers have with the democratic revolutionary movements of Europe, they will be as unyielding in their demands on us as they have been in their resistance to the Germans. And if we try to set up governments that run counter to their deepest impulses now, they will fight them as stubbornly as they fought the puppet governments the Germans set up.

France will be the test, as she has all along been some kind of test and symbol. It was France whose outer and inner disintegration was the sign that European man had come to the end of the passage. It was the French people who added to the tragedy of being conquered from without and betrayed from within the pathos of believing—if only for a historical moment—that a new government might be tolerable which operated under the betrayers and collaborated with the conquerors. And it was the French people who roused themselves from this treacherous dream, and showed the regenerative powers that catastrophe can evoke. There is, as Adam Smith remarked, a vast deal of ruin in a nation. But the French have also shown that the ruin of a nation may uncover long hidden layers of moral resources, as Prospero's storm stirred the sea to its lowest depths.

The three Allied powers—or, as Mr. Churchill calls them, the Grand Alliance—have not recognized the provisional government of the French people, though they have recognized governments in exile with far less command over their people's allegiance than the French government has, and with far less *de-facto* power. It is no great secret that the reluctance about France has centered in the American government: the Russians are anxious to extend recognition, and the British would consent, but America is unrelenting thus far. I do not pretend to know the weight to be given to the various factors here: how much must be assigned to the State Department mentality; how much to the diplomatic fear-of-communism tradition we established in our French missions under Bullitt, Leahy, Murphy; how much to Admiral Leahy's continuing influence as the President's personal military Chief of Staff; how much to the President's own impressions of French policy and the French people, picked up a quarter-century before France's death and rebirth; how much to the composition and temper of the French Committee, and the sway exercised over it by the resistance movements; how much to de Gaulle's unwillingness to give up any of the former French colo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nial holdings; and how much, finally, to the contrast between de Gaulle's stiffness and Joan of Arc sense of mission and the President's wholly American mistrust of heroics.

I do not know how to evaluate these factors, but I do know that the whole parcel of them is a precarious freight to be carrying to France, and afterward to the rest of Europe, in the wake of the invasion. On General de Gaulle's current visit to London he and General Eisenhower came to an understanding about military collaboration, and announced that they had separated military from political matters. The latter process is, of course, possible—as it is possible to separate the head from the body: but the consequences are bound to prove unfruitful. It is still true on the record that while the Allied command has signed agreements with the governments-in-exile of Belgium, Holland, Norway and Czecho-Slovakia, recognizing their civil authority in the areas to be liberated, it has not yet done so with the provisional French government, but has reserved the power to deal with the civil authority of any French group it may choose.

We shall find the French very difficult about this, as we should find the Partisans of Yugoslavia difficult if we should make accommodations with those who have collaborated with the fascists, and as we should find the starved Greeks and the forgotten men in Spain difficult. We shall without doubt talk of civil order and of anarchy, of military necessity, of liberation. We shall inveigh against the folly of "ideologies" and shall talk of the blood we are spilling for liberation, and the answer may well come back from those who have fought the Germans for five years and fascism for a decade and two decades that they too have spilled blood, and that the concern of the Grand Alliance should be the common cause of rooting fascism—idea and fact—out of all Europe.

We shall be very angry with these stiff-necked men, yes: but mainly for the reason that made Oliver Cromwell explode into fits of passionate anger whenever he wanted to do something that his conscience would not justify. To be sure, many of these thin, half-starved, stubborn men have been turned into neurotics by their experiences, but all war is a neurosis, and anti-fascism —if pursued passionately—becomes in the end obsessive. Things have moved far in the Europe whose democratic will the Germans set out to break a decade ago by gunfire and starvation and depopulation. Things have moved so far that if a man has not the stomach to be a traitor, he must end with rather less of the saint in him than of the terrorist.

I have a strong sense that American foreign policy may yet swing into the clear. It has, to be sure, been bad wherever it has had a choice—in Spain, North Africa and Italy. Yet a few bats do not make a night. And we may learn before it is too late that there is no real choice open to us: that we must either move in our diplomacy in the direction of the strong European currents, or seek to imprison them, and become Europe's jailers. Our government's acceptance of last week's change in the Italian cabinet, with the ousting of Badoglio, may argue either that the President and Secretary Hull had all along intended to move in this direction, and were only waiting for the right time, or that (as with the surrender of the Giraud adventure in North Africa) they had to face the granite fact of popular feeling in Europe. I hope the former is true, but the moral for the future is a clear one either way. Secretary Hull has said that fascism and democracy cannot co-exist in the same world. And President Roosevelt has again shown his saving flexibility of mind, after a long and stubborn battle with de Gaulle, in inviting him to Washington for talks during the next few weeks.

There are, of course, real difficulties in Europe which will not easily be surmounted. There will be peoples so dazed and weakened by years of occupation that they will have lost the moral resilience of a democratic come-back. There will be the tough question of how to handle the German surrender, and what to do in breaking the cartel-Nazi nexus in Germany. There will be the question of the timing of a genuine United Nations Council, and the place of the small nations and the Great Powers on it. And there will be the ever present fear that the prestige and power of Russia raise in the hearts of the British and American ruling groups, and the jealousy lest too many of the small nations be swept into Russia's sphere of influence. Our attitude seems to be that we know better than these small nations what is to their interest. In Housman's lines:

> The Grizzly Bear is huge and wild;
> He has devoured the infant child.
> The infant child is not aware
> He has been eaten by the bear.

But, whatever may be our shrinking from the image of the democratic revolutions in Europe, we shall not be able permanently to stop them. We can thwart them for a while, and thus mess things up both for them and for us. But in the end neither we nor the British are of the institutional stuff that can play Metternich successfully with the future, nor maintain a condominium over the world in which we are the grandees of a new Anglo-Saxony.

And in the end we know deep in our hearts that fascism will not be overcome by force of arms only. If it is to be kept from ever again raising itself to make another thrust at world power, it must be because there is a unified moral force of mankind against it. The seat of that moral force will be Europe and not America. Just as de Tocqueville a hundred years ago saw the revolutionary democracy of his age rising in America, so we may see it reborn in Europe. The wheel has come full turn.

MAX LERNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

History of the Second Front

IN STUDYING THE VICISSITUDES which the hope and idea of the invasion of Europe have undergone, one might well begin with a glance at the so-called "phony-war" period previous to the German assault on France. Most of the fruits of such a study, however, can be obtained from the more relevant period which followed the British withdrawal from Europe.

After Dunkirk, Britain could not have put much more than 100,000 adequately armed and reasonably trained men in the field. Moreover, the British leaders who set about the task of rebuilding an army knew that this was the last army Britain could raise. If it were lost, Britain would be lost with it. In these circumstances, Mr. Churchill's promise of an invasion of Europe in 1943 was a matter of rhetoric. Alone, Britain could never have set foot upon French soil without appalling risk. The only thing to do was to await developments. The important point to grasp is that all major political parties agreed on the absolute necessity of reducing risk to the minimum. Most of the future vicissitudes which the second-front idea was to undergo depend upon this conception of national survival far more than upon the fears of revolution, preponderant as they were in certain exalted quarters.

And another essential conception is that a British invasion of Europe could only be conceived and carried out as part of a grand strategy. One does not invade Europe as an isolated or unpremeditated act. The priority among the competing grand strategies lay necessarily with the British, whose strategy was always "Churchillian." That is, it was built upon the idea of preserving the Empire link, Egypt, the Suez and the Mediterranean. Doubtless Mr. Churchill's imperialism had much to do with this, yet there was nothing sinister about it as a military plan. It is hard to believe now that it was not the wisest and indeed the only course. That the plan was British in origin was later made the basis of much anti-war and anti-second-front propaganda.

Throughout the latter half of 1940 and the first half of 1941, there was much honest speculation in Britain concerning the best way to continue the war. It was during this time that the air-power school rose to some eminence. Within the councils of the British High Command, it had been said, these believers in air power were strong enough to influence the whole structure of the war economy. Be that as it may, independent thinkers, such as Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Garsia and others, published theoretical treatises attempting to dissuade Mr. Churchill's government from the invasion. The argument was that Britain, a power without unlimited reserves, should oppose her characteristic strength to Germany's characteristic weakness. In the British potentials of production were included the products of the American aviation industry, while the German disability was held to be a shortage of oil. Powerful as these arguments were, they failed.

In Mr. Churchill's thought, the absolutely essential condition for a British invasion of Europe was always to have been that Russia and the United States must join with England. As the Hess incident revealed, there were many in Germany who thought British fear of extinction and of revolution was so great that London could be tricked into a premature peace. This was not so, though it might have been true had Chamberlain still ruled England. (So that the Labor Party, which rejected Communist advice and helped Churchill into office, probably saved Russia.) In a certain sense Britain, by her fortitude and by her success in building up an army with American aid, had compelled Hitler to attack Russia. Once Britain had become impregnable, Hitler could obtain a solution in no other way. This is to argue that by 1941 British strength was once more of a stature to influence major events. In the largest historical view, Anglo-American coöperation had forced Hitler into the disastrous adventure of the Russian war. That was what the Soviet leaders all along had feared and that was why they and their party had urged a negotiated peace after the division of Poland.

After the Soviet involvement it was inevitable that the Communists should demand an immediate second front. And now there was a great change in the terms of the debate concerning the invasion. In circles far removed from the Communist Party, the same speculations were entertained and, as time went on, there were many consciences, firmly opposed to all radicalism, which labored in the shadow of apparently Communist conceptions. Despite the Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1941, the fear became widespread that "anti-revolutionary" calculations would coincide with counter-revolutionary desires, and that the invasion would be delayed or abandoned in the interest of "capitalist imperialism." Most of the formulations made at that date were wildly exaggerated. Yet one could not open a newspaper or listen to a public speech without being aware that the Communists, even if they were not talking about effective realities, were drawing attention to some extraordinarily grizzly ghosts.

In retrospect, with confirmed statistics before one, it is certain that the second-front demand at that early date was not founded upon possibility. Writing early in 1942 and after two months' study of all the publicly and privately available estimates, I came to the conclusion that Britain was then in a position to undertake a limited offensive. Its field would have to be one in which a decision could be quickly reached and where

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the enemy could not bring his mass forces to bear. In 1941, however, the assertion that Britain was capable of a European invasion alone was merely irresponsible. And before Pearl Harbor it was the poorest of advice. Had the attempt failed, or succeeded only in holding a few desperate bridgeheads, it might have been disastrous in hardening American sentiment against participation and in favor of a negotiated peace.

But it is not fair only to point out the risks involved in those second-front campaigns. All was not disservice. The old Munich appeasement and the abandonment of Spain had been caused by precisely those fears whose existence the Communists recognized. That those matters should be openly discussed was a good thing on the whole and in any event, the entire set and pattern of Anglo-American foreign policy was later to lend fresh substance to those old disputes. It is a personal opinion, but, I think, a well grounded one, that neither the British nor the American General Staff has ever delayed or changed its plans because of the fear of revolution, though our State Departments have been so influenced and no doubt will be again and again in the future. It is hard now to realize how morbid the fears and extravagant the imputations became. It was publicly suggested in my hearing that Mr. Churchill had deliberately betrayed the Dieppe raid of August, 1942, by failing to grant sufficient air protection. This in order to fool the Russians and becalm the second-fronters! This was not the only sort of unreasoning reaction to the still unsolved problem of Europe. Many who called themselves liberals quite as evidently refused to support the second-front campaign because they were afraid of Soviet predominance in Europe.

Pearl Harbor again changed the terms of the debate, though much more slowly. If Britain could hold out and if we could work out a joint strategy, victory was now certain. The old anxiety about political discordances continued, and was even increased by the incomprehensible policies of Mr. Hull toward France, and by the British surrender to the State Department after Eden's and Churchill's visit to the United States in March, 1943. In reality, however, the debate was now governed by the differences inherent in working out a common strategy among three major powers of such strikingly different needs, tempers and potentials. In America, 1942 saw the rise of the air-power theoreticians exactly as in England in 1939 and 1940, but 1943 produced a far more dangerous movement, manned largely by the old America Firsters. Opposition to the invasion of Europe now took a new and sinister form. "American strategy is being made subservient to British imperial needs," it was said. "Not Europe but Asia is our natural battleground. Let us defeat Japan first." Senator "Happy" Chandler and Senator Wheeler were the big trench mortars (1918 pattern) in this case, with The New York Daily News and other papers trying to drag General MacArthur into position as a big gun. The General was known to have similar, if not identical, views. Senators Vandenberg and Taft and all those who have since tried to persuade MacArthur to accept nomination for the presidency, in greater or less degree aided the Japan Firsters. The real intention of their proposal was made clear by maladroit Senator Wheeler in The New York Times. Fear of the Soviet and of European revolution and not the desire to punish Japan was his real motive.

What is interesting here is the conjunction of dates. The Japan Firsters timed their effort to the exact moment when certain very real differences were being thrashed out. It is now known that previous to the invasion of North Africa there had been sharp differences of opinion between the British and American General Staffs as to the next stages of the European war. It has been said publicly that the American High Command was for an invasion of the continental land mass and that Mr. Churchill was in favor of complicated proposals dependent in part on Russian agreement. In March, 1943, when it was already certain that the Germans were facing defeat and at the critical moment of Anglo-American negotiations, the defeatists of Japan First made their reckless effort. Frustrated then, they continued throughout the whole of that spring and made a special effort when at last we were about to invade Sicily. Of the two conjunctions I think the latter is the more interesting and the one which is more important for future guidance. It is at the very moment when a decisive stage has been reached and combat has been temporarily broken off, that the pro-Fascists make their deceptive proposals. It will be so again. Their defeat in 1943 was a signal political event, for it made clear to the Russian government our unalterable will. Henceforth, the real task was to bring Russia together with Britain and America. That was not easy and it still seems to me that the fault was largely on our side. Again public opinion showed itself extremely sensitive to every event connected with the Soviet Union. One time it was suggested that the USSR was on the point of withdrawing from the war. This in particular was an idea very much entertained in certain liberal circles. Withdrawal of Russian Ambassadors, Mr. Stalin's failure to attend conferences to which he had not been invited, the setting up of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow, even the very resolution of the Yugoslav Partisans—all were held to be proof that the Soviet was going its own way with utter disregard for its allies.

One of the most curious reactions was the behavior of certain journals which hitherto had shown no enthusiasm for the second front. Fear of Russian predominance in Europe now moved them to support the administration's evident determination to invade Europe. We heard much of the "race to Berlin." It was after the Quebec Conference in August, 1943, however, that the American public became convinced of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

necessity of a forthright approach to the Soviet government, and at Moscow in October the initial steps were taken.

The general opinion was that the Moscow Conference solved very few political differences but that Stalin was reassured concerning the second front. In the light of an official statement in London made on Sunday, June 4, that was probably not so, for it was not until Teheran that the Russian leader was acquainted with the date of the major invasion. And obviously the Russians did not regard the somewhat lagging Italian campaign as a true second front.

On first thought it may seem that all this history is a matter of mere academic interest. It is not so. For as the costs mount and as the chances of war go this way and that, all the old proposals will be made in new forms and a section of public opinion will react to them in ways not wholly dissimilar. Hitler has put out peace-feelers in the past and more than once, and to more than one power. He will do so again. It will be easier to be on our guard this time. The spirit of a nation joined in grim battle and aware of its immense strength is proof against the pettiness and the itching suggestibility of irresolute and half-hearted men. RALPH BATES

D-Day

I. In the Channel

BRITAIN'S REACTION to the invasion has been one of elation mixed with anxiety. Britain has been in the war and subject to war nerves two years longer than the United States. She is taking the new crisis philosophically. Hope is the dominant emotion, though the leaders warn—and the facts are too evident to deny—that the outcome is still touch and go, with the whole vast issue wavering in the balance. Now it's a race as to supplies between Montgomery and Rommel, with certain advantages to each. Rommel has interior lines of communication, flat terrain for his automotive equipment, good roads. The grove-dotted landscape makes superb camouflage for transport, whose value only a military man understands. Also, Rommel has troops and fortifications which were already there on D-Day.

The Allies have mastery of the air, and the new technique of pinpoint shelling by naval guns as long as the battle remains near the coast. I was on one of these ships, the cruiser Quincy, during the assault, and I can testify to the superb accuracy of the fire. The Allies have the advantage of the American genius for organization. They have the world's best equipment—if they can get it ashore. Finally, and always subject to weather conditions, the Allies have greater over-all mobility than Rommel in control of the sea lanes. This may be the decisive factor if the umbrella of Allied planes is able to break up Rommel's supply lines.

The real test will come in the great counter-attack which is undoubtedly preparing and will decide the length of the war. Rommel had apparently reinforced the Germans on the Cherbourg peninsula some time before our thrust was made. We knew of this, however, and made allowances for it in the final timetable of the campaign. The general picture at the end of the first week was therefore one of restrained optimism. The war is not close enough to its end so that the New York stock market should go into a peace-panic nose-dive. On the other hand, Portugal's willingness to stop future wolfram shipments to Germany indicates a canny neutral's view of the situation. The British are undoubtedly right when they say the question is no longer who will win the war but how long it will last.

I missed the scenes in London because I was off the Norman coast on shipboard, where dawn found us on Hitler's doorstep like a milk bottle. Our task force took up the methodical off-shore bombardment as soon as it was light. The navy fights a gentleman's war of long-distance killing. We relaxed, save when the shore batteries got too close, and luckily for us the Germans were apparently so jolted by previous aerial bombardment that their aim seemed to suffer. In any case, we outranged them.

My own eye-witness account was written under far more comfortable circumstances than, for example, Kenneth Crawford's story in Newsweek of landing in the first wave, and others like it. I was on the upper bridge of a great new battle cruiser where the chief discomfort was the jolting from our own eight-inch guns. I had a panoramic view of thirty miles of the beachhead, where I could see the orderly, methodical landing, handicapped by the stiff breeze which capsized some small boats and inconvenienced all of them.

It would be hard to exaggerate the effectiveness of the support by the capital ships. Radio spotters constantly reported on the targets and gave us the ranges. I listened to the drama of this in the fire-control room. Over the radio came the code identification of the spotter. Then he would ask for shells to be laid down in such and such a place, as casually as somebody buying cigarettes. The men on the cruiser would fire, and would O.K. the request, simultaneously, telling the unseen spotter miles distant that the shells were on the way. Forty or fifty seconds later we would radio the message, "Flash!" which meant the shells were timed to hit then. A second or two later the spotter would tell us, "Up 100," or "Down 100," for the next shot. This went on until the target was demolished.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Americans Answer a C

Traditional American Support for Freedom Movement: Abroad Must Be Extended to the Hebrew Nation

Because—

The Hebrews are most heavily taxed in this war—more than two million casualties—without recognition or representation.

Because—

They are persecuted by enemies and ignored by friends.

WE people of America—ourselves a free and mighty nation, born in a revolution against oppression and tyranny—have joined in an American League for a Free Palestine in answer to the call of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation for help in the mortal struggle of the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine for life and liberation.

It is not the first time that the oppressed and subjugated people of a foreign land have appealed to America for help. And whenever such a call reaches our shores, it echoes in our hearts, and we respond with compassion and humanity. Free Czechoslovakia and free Ireland are living examples of our response.

This help and fostering of foreign national freedom movements has become a glorious tradition of America. Maybe it is a repaying of our debt to other nations for their help when we desperately fought for our own freedom in 1776. Maybe this is a payment-in-kind to the Lafayettes and Kosciuskos. But no people deserves our support more than the freedom movement of the Hebrews. For no people has suffered as much in a Christian world for such a long time as they. For in this war, in which we proudly fight the enemies of freedom and civilization, the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine is most heavily taxed, not only in property and human dignity, but also in torrents of blood, in more casualties than all the United Nations of Europe combined, with the exception of Russia. Yet this people is denied any recognition or national representation, both on the field of battle and in the councils of the United Nations. This is the most scandalous example of taxation without representation history has ever known.

More than that. The soldiers of the United Nations are enduring the greatest hardships—making the supreme sacrifice in the hope that after victory they may return to a peaceful and happy life, with all the opportunities that a democratic and liberal order will present. The farmers will go back to the soil, the workers to their plants, the professionals to their offices, the businessmen to their trades.

But what hope exists for the Hebrew in Europe? No such prospect strengthens his spirit. For him there are no jobs waiting. For him there is no home—and in truth even before Hitler, the Hebrew was insecure, politically discriminated against and economically uprooted; in one word—homeless.

What is to become of these Hebrews, ex-citizens of Europe's many countries, who will have escaped death, survived torture, concentration camps, mass execution? Does the world expect these weary people to return to the scenes of their torture, there to seek in vain the faces of those they once loved and who are perhaps now forever missing? Is it for this prospect that two million or more Hebrews have been martyred—for which millions more have endured torture?

AMERICAN LEAGUE F

11 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.
LAckawanna 4-1748

INTERIM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Stella Adler
William Auerbach-Levy
Albert A. Bauer
Konrad Bercovici
Louis Bromfield
Russell Gordon Carter
Lester Cohen
Rose Cohen
Hon. Robert J. Crews
Jo Davidson
Lion Feuchtwanger
Erie Godal
Frances Gunther
Ben Hecht
Nathan-George Horwitt
Betty Keane
Emil Lengyel
Lawrence Lipton
Lyon Mearson
Rabbi Baruch Rabinowitz
Curt Riess
Hon. Will Rogers, Jr.
Dr. Manfred Sakel
Harvey L. Schwamm
Harry Louis Selden
Philip Simpson
Rep. A. L. Somers (N. Y.)
Arthur Szyk
Julia Szyk
Irving Taitel
Frieda Zimmerman
William Zorach

Alex Wilf, Executive Director

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Partial List

Hallett Abend
Dr. M. John Adam
Clarence Adler, Musician
Luther Adler, Actor
Dr. W. F. Albright, Johns Hopkins University
Mrs. Margaret Culkin Banning
Prof. Edward Bartow
Rabbi M. Berger
Leonard Bernstein, Composer
Charles Bickford, Actor
Rabbi Jesse Bloomfield
Sidney Blackmer, Actor
Rabbi Saul Bolotnikov
Prof. Edw. S. Beyer
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge
Rep. Walter E. Brehm, Ohio
Gwen Bristow, Author
George L. Brown, Dean
Rep. Charles A. Buckley
Rep. Thomas F. Burchill
Edward Buzzell, M.G.M. Studios
Robert Campbell, Sec'y, Actors' Fund Amer.
Rep. Louis J. Capozzoli (N. Y.)
James Chapin, Amer. Museum
Mrs. Raymond Clapper
Eliot Clark, Artist
Rep. John M. Coffee (Wash.)
John E. Costigan, Artist
Harry Crane, Producer
C. Russell Chavens, Woodmen of the World
Paul P. Cret, Architect
John Stewart Curry, Artist
Louis D'Angelo, Singer
Harry Davenport, Actor
Rt. Rev. Edward T. Demby
Prof. John Dewey
Eddie Dowling, Actor
Rabbi Bernard Drachman
Hon. Denis J. Driscoll
Thomas Durian, Glove Workers Union of America, Int.
Rev. Henry M. Edmonds
Paul Eldridge, Author
Rev. William A. Elliott
Rev. Robert A. Elwood
Anana Enters, Dancer
Clifford Evans, News Commentator
Major General Charles S. Farnsworth, U.S.A. (Retired)
Rep. James H. Fay (N. Y.)
Rabbi M. J. Fisher
Rep. James M. Fitzpatrick (N.Y.)
Marjorie Flack, Author
Rep. Richard P. Gale (Minn.)
Rabbi Tobias Geffen
Max Gordon, Producer
Dr. A. V. Grosse, Columbia
Hermann Hagedorn, Author
Wm. Christopher Handy, Composer
Dr. S. Ralph Harlow
William Harrigan, Actor
Senator Albert W. Hawkes (N. J.)
Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Haynes
Brig. Gen. Ira A. Haynes
Andrew B. Hecht, Editor
George S. Heilman, Author
Granville Hicks, Author
Rep. William S. Hill (Colo.)
Rep. Daniel K. Hoch (Pa.)
Rep. Chet Holifield (Calif.)
Vladimir Horowitz, Pianist
S. Hurok, Concert Manager
Rabbi J. H. Jacobson
Hon. W. D. Jamieson
Elizabeth Jordan, Author
Prof. Erich Kahler
Oscar Kariweis, Actor
Hon. Kent E. Keller
Willford I. King, N. Y. U.
J. H. Kichner, Editor
Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Painter
Rep. Charles M. La Follette
Hon. Harry D. Landis
Prof. C. W. Leaphart
Rabbi Israel Iser Levine
Meyer Levin, Author
Willy Ley, Author
Alexander Lindey, Lawyer
Ralph Linton, Columbia Univ.
Isidore Lipschutz
Electus D. Litchfield, Architect
Dr. Otto Loewi, N. Y. U.
Luigi Lucioni, Artist
Reginald L. McCall, Musician
Edna B. Manner, Social Worker
Prof. Otto Marburg, Neurologist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for Life and Liberation

What Alternative Is There?

THE alternative is presented to us by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. For the first time in 1809 years (the last Hebrew revolt under Bar Kochba was crushed in 135 A.D.) a unified group of Hebrews have joined together to redeem the Hebrew National Sovereignty as a solution to the age-old problem of homelessness and dispersion.

The Hebrew Committee will seek recognition of the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine as a sovereign nation with the right of self-determination.

It will seek representation on the United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, on the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and on all the other councils of the United Nations.

It will demand the right for its Hebrew Army to fight on an equal footing with other United Nations armies against the Axis.

While the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation will not press the final settlement of political and boundary problems of Palestine until the end of hostilities, it will insist, however, on the immediate opening of Palestine to all Hebrews who can manage to escape from Europe today.

The ultimate goal of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation is the establishment of a free Palestine, with the Arab population as partners in a democratic and civilized nation, and with a legally constituted international authority in control of the holy places of all faiths.

In announcing the formation of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, Peter H. Bergson, its head, declared:

"Let it be clearly understood that the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation does not attempt to speak for the Jews of the United States. They are an integral part of the American nation; an integral part of a nation made up of people of every descent. They do not 'belong' to Palestine, nor thereby to the renascent Hebrew Nation, any more than Justice Frank Murphy 'belongs' to the Irish nation or Lt. Gen. William Knudsen 'belongs' to the Danish nation, although both certainly are proud of their ancestry."

Recognizing the validity of these demands of minimum human rights and human dignity for the renascent Hebrew nation, the American League for a Free Palestine will dedicate itself to the full support of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation in its endeavors to obtain for its people the rights of man while some still survive to enjoy them.

DEMANDS OF THE HEBREW COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

1. **Recognition** of the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine as a sovereign nation with the right of self-determination.
2. **Representation** on the United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, on the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and on all the other councils of the United Nations.
3. **Participation** on the field of battle as the Hebrew Army, fighting under its own banner, on an equal footing with the armies of the other United Nations.
4. **Admission** of every Hebrew who reaches the shores of Palestine in escaping from Nazi mass murder.

Can we do less for a people that gave us through the Bible the moral foundations of our civilization?

Can we do less for a people that is the martyr of all nations, and whose sufferings have had no end?

Can we do less when we fight for a better world, based on right and justice?

Let us not forget for one moment that right and justice are indivisible; they must be for every person everywhere, lest they be imperiled for us all.

* * * * * *

We are confident that in this mobilization of public opinion there is a place waiting for you—regardless of your national origin or religious creed. Join us. Help us to spread this message among many more millions of Americans in order to arouse them to do their responsibility. It is imperative that we place this message in hundreds of newspapers throughout the country and broadcast it to the entire nation, for the very principles for which we are fighting this war are at stake. We, therefore, need not only your voice, but also your financial help, immediately, NOW! You are invited to sign your name below as a member of the American League for a Free Palestine, and to enclose your contribution to speed our great human venture.

R A FREE PALESTINE

Martin
witz, Artist
, Author
k, New York City
iller (Mo.)
ller, Poet
Actor
ulos, Conductor
tist
, Matheson
is, Lawyer
, Neches
Literary Critic
, Author
enk, Economist
Lawyer, Ill.
att Page
adden Martin
antonio, N. Y.
Actress

berg
ustadt
o Pannunzio
appenheimer
Parker
Patterson
n Poets, Artist
Policovitz
Petrovitch
Pfeifer (N. Y.)

J. Campbell Philips, Artist
Erwin Piscator
Katherine Anne Porter, Author
Mrs. Mabel Posegate, Poet
Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
Marshfield News-Herald, Wis.
Rep. Homer A. Ramey, (Ohio)
Hon. Joseph E. Ramsdell
Clara A. Randall, Chicago
Samson Raphaelson, Author
Prof. J. F. L. Rasohan, Pittsburgh
Reginald I. Raymond
Rabbi Abraham S. Reines
Rabbi Leon J. Risikoff
Dean Alexander C. Roberts
Joanna Roos, Actress
Rev. Morris M. Rose, New York
Rabbi Samuel Rosinger
Onorio Ruotolo, Sculptor
John Russell, Author
Rep. George G. Sadowski, (Mich.)
Lazare Saminsky, Composer
Cecelia C. Saunders, Y. W. C. A.
Rep. Thomas E. Scanlon, (Pa.)
Friedrich Schorr, Singer
David O. Selznick, Producer
Dean James E. Shepard
Rep. Harry R. Sheppard, (Calif.)
Mary Siegrist, Author
Rev. Abraham Silverstein
Hans Simons, New School, N. Y.

Hon. Harry Slattery
H. B. Snyder, Editor
Rev. Dr. Adolph Spiegel
Bill Stern, Sports Commentator
Mme. Olga Samaroff-Stokowski
Seymour Millais Stone, Painter
Julian Street, Author
Grace Tabor, Author
Mary Church Terrell, Author
Rev. John Thompson
Dean John J. Tigert
Hon. Maurice J. Tobin, Mayor
Rt. Rev. Beverly D. Tucker,
Edna Worthley Underwood
Mrs. Louis Untermeyer
Winifred M. Van Ettin, Author
William Van Wyck, Author
Chas. A. Wagner
Rev. Ralph C. Walker
Katherine Warren, Actress
Lucia Watson, Actress
Max Weber, Artist
Margaret Webster, Producer
Franklin H. Wentworth, Author
Mary Brent Whiteside, Poet
Prof. Henry N. Wieman
Aubrey Williams
Peggy Wood, Actress
Mary E. Woolley, Educator
Jane Wyatt, Actress
Ed Wynn Actor

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

11 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Recognizing the solution of the age-old problem of the Hebrew people in Europe as one of the objectives of Democracy and as a preliminary condition to permanent peace in the world, I am in accord with the general principles and objectives of the American League for a Free Palestine.

I enclose herewith the sum of $..... to enable you to carry out your activities, one dollar of which please deduct as my annual membership dues.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In another part of the ship our radio picked up walkie-talkie reports of fighting at shorter range. I heard one commander demand to know peremptorily why the walkie-talkie was not answering him louder and clearer. We heard the meek answer, just audible through the static, that the speaker was pinned down in the crossfire between a pillbox and machine guns.

The greatest thrill was the arrival of a vast sweep of glider-borne troops towed by transport planes, in the late afternoon and evening of the first day of the assault. It was a wholly unexpected and soul-stirring sight, and I cannot tell you what a tremendous impression it made. Even hard-boiled veterans on deck could hardly speak, as the great roaring wave went over. It was so long from end to end that the first transports were returning without gliders on one side of the ship while on the other the gliders were still going by. It was a scene out of the future and certainly the greatest sight of my whole life. First there was a distant mutter which rose quickly to thunder. Then they were above us in perfect formation, the twinkling spiderweb filament visibly connecting transport with glider. I could not see them land and don't know what were the casualties among them on the fields where they heroically crash-dived. But there is no question that this is one of the great developments of the war.

My chief impression was the crowded condition of the English Channel as we returned to Britain on Wednesday evening. It was absolutely choked with traffic of every kind, including craft big and little, new or old. Suddenly I realized what it meant. This was Dunkirk in reverse. Now we were going back.

London (by cable) RICHARD LEE STROUT

II. In London

EARLY on the morning of D-Day, millions of London's citizens lay in their beds listening to the mighty drone of planes heading over the city toward France. Many of them wondered whether the pilots of the Fortresses and Lancasters were finally bound for the invasion beaches. The war workers got up wearily as usual, dressed and waited on the corner for the early bus, with the question still unanswered. The later-rising office workers switched on the radio for the 8 o'clock news and heard the announcer report naval engagements in the Channel. They sat before their radios as long as they could, with mounting excitement. Finally came Eisenhower's short and shattering communiqué.

This was it. Since Dunkirk, since the Germans went into Russia, since Teheran, since the fall of Rome, the people of London had been awaiting this moment. Some of them had succeeded in making the delay in the second front a political issue; they had attended demonstrations in Trafalgar Square at which it was charged that we were sabotaging our gallant ally, Russia. Mothers and wives of servicemen, of course, had dreaded the hour. Once before, when the Commandos went ashore at Dieppe, the country had thrilled with the news of the second front, only to be shocked by the high losses incurred.

Now the country and every man and woman in it were irrevocably committed to the decisive campaign of the war. The news spread like wildfire. Passengers on suburban trains passed the word to one another. Factory managers, in excited voices, told their employees about it over the shop public-address system. Government officials, with startled faces, told their typists that "this is it." School teachers spread the word in their classrooms and the children, in true British fashion, rose and cheered. At midday, crowds thronging the streets in the central part of London waited in long lines to buy extras. Everyone had the same thought: the comradeship of the blitz had been revived. Everyone had a friend or relative immediately involved. People from the occupied countries, with perhaps even more at stake, complained of the phlegmatic British for their stolid demeanor.

Nobody wanted to talk of anything else, yet nobody had anything to say. There was enough news to scotch the rumors, but not enough to satisfy the omnivorous appetite. Even the amateur strategists were nearly silenced by the vastness of the operation, although some explained to all hearers that the landings at the mouth of the Seine were only a flanking operation and that Denmark would be the scene of the real landing. No one was interested in such speculations.

In the House of Commons Mr. Churchill's appearance was greeted with cheers. William Gallacher, the sole Communist in Parliament, followed Mr. Churchill with two sentences of his own: "I would like to express my own feelings and what I am sure are the feelings of every member of this House. Our hearts and thoughts are with those lads and with their mothers at home."

There were 800 volunteers for blood donations at a single London factory. In another, the women workers offered to go from their day's work to serve as nurses' helpers in the hospitals. Production spurted in all war plants; everybody wanted to do more. In the evening the Home Guards who were on duty cleaned their Bren guns and wondered whether the Nazis would answer the invasion by dropping paratroops on England.

In the city, only a few minutes by air from the actual front lines, the people listened to the planes overhead, waited and worked. They realized the Nazis would soon counter-attack in Normandy, if they hadn't already begun to do so. The Americans, the Russians and the French seemed more than ever brothers in a common enterprise. When one remembers Dunkirk—and millions of Englishmen did remember it on D-Day—the military recovery of this country seems a miracle. The people who worked that miracle are now determined both to win this war and not to lose the peace.

London (by cable) MICHAEL YOUNG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

As the Invasion Begins

NOW THAT ALLIED TROOPS are storming *Festung Europa* from the west, Washington is no longer the center of interest that it was only a few weeks ago. It's stock has slumped. Only a presidential report on the progress of the war, or one from high military officials, can expect to vie for interest with the electrifying bulletins from SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces) and from the beachheads themselves.

The eclipse was apparent from the moment that General Dwight D. Eisenhower issued his Communiqué No. 1. While sleepy-eyed reporters marked time in the Pentagon press room, awaiting confirmation of the first German reports of the invasion, they knew what meager crumbs would fall their way. At 10 p.m. that night, well in advance of the first landing on French soil, General George C. Marshall had gone to bed at his home in Ft. Myer, Virginia, observing with characteristic self-effacement that "my work is done." Secretary of War Stimson did not know that operations actually were under way until he received a telephone call, suggesting that he tune in his radio.

But from the standpoint of long-range planning and performance Washington is far from out of the picture. Men and supplies must continue to be shuttled across the Atlantic to bolster Eisenhower's position, first in France and later in other countries where Allied forces strike as they drive closer and closer to Berlin. Strategy must be perfected for the eventual all-out drive against Germany's Far Eastern partner. And there is the continuing study of peace plans, including proposals for an international security organization after the war. Officials in the executive departments realize that plans must be made on the domestic front, too, to assure the orderly demobilization of our fighting forces, war workers and munitions industries.

It is probably too much to expect that Congress will try to work for national unity and the general public welfare, even with the American liberation forces facing the withering fire of the Nazi defenders. The record of this Congress shows plainly that it is not built that way.

In both the Senate and the House, the same old forces of disunity and special privilege continued their own peculiar brands of selfish obstruction. The Senate merrily hacked away at the Emergency Price Control Act at the behest of various lobbies—none of them consumer groups. In the House, Representative Dewey Short (Rep., Mo.) sought to divide the people over the issue of the Pearl Harbar courts martial of Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Major-General Walter C. Short. Short's stock in trade was the familiar mid-Western isolationist or nationalist employment of innuendo to cast serious reflection on the war leadership of the President and ranking military and naval officials.

It was noteworthy that among the delayed business items before Congress was the President's request for UNRRA funds with which to feed the liberated peoples of Europe. There was also the matter of legislation to provide for the orderly termination of war contracts and the reconversion of war plants to peacetime pursuits. Only the most persistent prodding had succeeded in getting sponsors of such legislation to recognize the "human" side of this type of demobilization. But even with this provision now taken care of in pending bills, all of them are gathering dust.

Fortunately in some respects, and unfortunately in others, the foregoing developments in Congress have failed to receive prominent mention. But they all seem to add up to the fact that there is diminishing hope for the legislative branch's awakening to its new responsibilities.

Ironically enough, the fact that the American people are so deeply immersed in the new military developments which Congress all but ignores would seem to indicate that there is little prospect of the thorough house-cleaning that many in Washington believe ought to take place in the November election. What effect this situation will have on the presidential race is still largely a matter of conjecture. But it is interesting to note that persons close to Mr. Roosevelt feel certain he will undertake another meeting with Prime Minister Churchill near the scene of the great battle in Europe—possibly in France. Suggestions have been made, too, that the GOP presidential nominee may have a similar opportunity.

In the meantime, Mr. Roosevelt is conferring here with Polish Premier Mikolajczyk on vital postwar matters. Soon he will be meeting in Washington with General de Gaulle, whom he has disparaged and blocked at every opportunity. Those desiring a more realistic French policy can take heart from the fact that the President has agreed to this face-to-face meeting. It is particularly significant in that much at issue between the two men on the question of France may be on the way to clarification at that time.

Notes: GOP bigwigs are worried about the fight which Representative Charles La Follette, courageous, liberal Indiana Republican, is waging against his party's choice of an ex-Ku Klux Klan leader, Robert W. Lyons, as national committeeman from the Hoosier state. Lyons, incidentally, is a Dewey manager. . . . Now that the Supreme Court has held insurance companies to be in interstate commerce and hence subject to the anti-trust laws, the richly financed fire-insurance lobby has begun beating the drums again for the Bailey-Walter bill. This measure would specifically exempt insurance companies from anti-trust prosecution. . . . President Roosevelt is said by informed persons to be wavering once more on the selection of Henry Wallace as his running mate, if he decides to make the 1944 race. He is represented as looking again in the direction of Speaker Sam Rayburn, but it may be only a temporary flirtation. . . . Current envy of Washington lobbyists is Samuel B. Bledsoe, a neophyte who joined their ranks after serving for years as a special assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, and more lately as a capital correspondent of The New York Times. As principal aide to Oscar G. Johnston, president of the National Cotton Council, Bledsoe is given much of the *discredit* for the Bankhead higher-cotton-price amendment which was attached to the Senate bill extending the Emergency Price Control Act.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Andersen's Fairy Tale

NO MATTER how earnest and wholesome its intentions, "The Eve of St. Mark" turns up a disconcerting number of war-film clichés, and presents with irritating, recruiting-poster purity a picture of wartime American civilians and soldiers leading prettily heroic, contented and richly rewarding lives. The movie tries to show the more important attitudes and experiences of a soldier named Quiz (acted pallidly by William Eythe, in a quick reverse from what he did in "The Song of Bernadette") as he moves through his training period to the heroic stand he makes with a gun crew on Bataan, as well as showing those felt by his family and sweetheart back on their idyllic farm in upstate New York. As it turns out, the soldier scenes are less insipid and funnier than the family's; but the latter make up the difference by being the worst in the war films. The picture's theme for both is to show people either aggressively proud and happy to have their sons fighting in the war or sons aggressively proud and happy to be fighting, and its way of explaining their 100-percent affirmation and satisfaction is to show them living in as pretty a way as possible, which doesn't lead to a significant understanding of anything.

Still, if you can get through the farm scenes where the father and mother and the sweetheart (Anne Baxter) go around with a pleased-as-Punch look, as though they were eating each other and finding they were all made of delicious candy, you will find some good comedy, some provocative feints in the direction of realism, and a script that is rather tightly packed with one thing after another.

The comic business, which should be mentioned first because it is the best, hardly rubs anyone or anything in a wrong direction and is always performing the hoary task of showing how wonderfully amusing every minute of camp life is, and how marvelously friendly everyone is with everyone else—there is never a hitch in the relationship between the rowdy, tough Irishman and the Southern aristocrat-scholar, nor between either of them and the pure hero, nor between those three and the sulking, aggressive Jew. Still, there are amusing things: a scene in which five soldiers mimic their sergeant drilling recruits, which is done as a less obvious caricature than it usually is; a scene at a camp-town soldier-hangout, which is a chaos of opposing intentions—but in which someone had the bright idea of injecting a truly wacky character, a horribly overworked waiter who moves deafly and dumbly with a terrible limp and a punchdrunk expression. There is a touching moment filled with wonder when the veteran sergeant nostalgically tells the story of the greatest crap game in history, which took place simultaneously on all the ships returning the soldiers home from Manila, and ended with an entire army payroll in the hands of the seven winners, who were then escorted by armed guard down Market Street. The film has a good comic named Michael O'Shea, who adds an unusual degree of rough, sprawling lewdness to the age-old Irish soldier comic. By comedy I don't mean the three reels of comically intentioned rhetoric and verse droned out by the Southern scholar, but I thought Vincent Price did a good job of droning.

The film has the habit of threatening something commendably more realistic, or subtle, or significant, and then of shrinking back into its normal and rosy attitude. On both of the son's furloughs home he and his sweetheart show the strain of unrealized love one moment and in the next are blissfully free of any such agony. When the boy, surprisingly for the movies, picks up a girl in the camp town and shows the logical amount of enthusiasm for her, the film writers hurriedly attribute it to his imagining he is with his true sweetheart and have him leave wholesomely early to mail a letter home. A hand is shown moving toward someone's knee but is forgotten about in mid-passage. The soldiers, for the first time, I think, in this war in films, are shown drinking worse than beer. But they don't get out of hand. A soldier smacks his buddy with real hostility, but the flare-up is magically doused.

This one-third now-you-see-it and two-thirds now-you-don't becomes more serious in the final scene when the heroes are making a hopeless stand somewhere on the Bataan Peninsula, and a vote is taken as to whether they should make an honorable retreat or fight on to inevitable death. They vote unanimously to stay, fight on heroically until their gun is knocked out, and then escape anyway. Also, in the process of the voting, one of them who has already cast his vote vehemently argues for retreating, but when his vote is read it turns out he has voted to stay. His argument for retreating had to do with his dissatisfaction with the prewar poverty he had lived through. Then the picture has someone cow him by saying he wasn't the only one who suffered during the depression, which is supposed to be an answer.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

BONELLI STANDS FOR

Abatement of bureaucracy and paternalism.

Federal programs for war veterans' welfare, old-age relief, postwar agriculture, industry and labor. – *From the platform of William G. Bonelli, running for United States Senator from California, as printed in The Compton (Calif.) Journal.*

He does it with wonderful objectivity: he is almost inhumanly nonpartisan. No particular sympathies are apparent in Mr. Visson's writing. He doesn't seem to be for or against anything. So his book is brilliantly clear, informative and intelligent. – *Orville Prescott, reviewing André Visson's "The Coming Struggle for Peace" in The New York Times.*

Benevolent Despot

But Colonel Peron does not practise European fascism. Since the June 4 revolution there has been plenty of political conflict in Argentina, but no one of record has been tortured or executed. – *From Time.*

NEWSMEN AWAIT INVASION CALMLY
Some Even Show Reluctance to Have the Attack Begin
Before They See Britain
– *Head and subhead in The New York Times.*

The Pitfalls of Democracy

As to the matter of voting in our elections, we seriously question that it would be advantageous to the large body of Negroes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a whole to have this occur at this time. As most of us know, many of our so-called politicians are long on promises and short on performance. They depend upon fooling the electorate with high-sounding phrases and glib words; then when once firmly seated in the saddle of authority of the position to which they are elected they immediately "sell out" the interests of their constituents for selfish gain. . . . In the case of the Negro as a voter, many of them would not be able to determine the good from the evil, and the selfish and scheming conniver could sway them to his own selfish plan, and in the end penalize them and their white friends alike. – *From The Forest City (Ark.) Times Herald, quoted in The Congressional Record.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Jews of Europe

SIR: "So you don't want to save the Jews of Europe!" That's about the attitude that faces me whenever I so much as open my mouth about what I regard as some serious mistakes being made by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. But I guess I'll have to risk more of the same and say my say.

My say is very simple: "What about *us*? How's for our opening *our* doors before we get shrill at any other nation?" Why do the full-page ads of the Emergency Committee keep silent about our own shameful and heartless record and focus their whole drive on denouncing Britain over Palestine? . . . Is it Zionism and Palestine that are the mainsprings of this energetic campaign—or is it the lives of doomed people? For if it is purely and simply the lives of the hunted and the persecuted and the about-to-die, we are in a very poor position to scream invective at Britain.

For instance take the year ending June 30, 1938: of the 27,300 visas we *could* have issued to German and Austrian refugees, nearly 8,000 were never issued at all. . . . By adding the Poles, Hungarians and Czechs to the German and Austrian refugees, you will find that in 1939, 550,000 Jewish and other refugees were desperately trying to escape to America and that we meted out to this half-million our legally permitted 37,000 and told the rest "the quota is full."

We had the excuse of our immigration laws—and nothing would move us to set them temporarily aside—not even full-page ads. Those laws prohibited us from increasing the quota in time of crisis; they prohibited us from switching unused visas from a country that didn't need them to one that did; they prohibited us from keeping a previous year's unused quotas "alive" within the same country and issuing them in a year of need. Thus in 1939, 95,000 American visas were never issued at all. . . . Indeed, in ten years 1,200,000 American visas were never issued at all.

That was before the war, when there was no comfortable alibi about shipping and possible German spies. Today we are bringing in about a hundred people a week, but even today, with the alibi of the war to cloud the issue, it seems clear to many immigration experts that we *could* be bringing in a thousand refugees a week, over fifty thousand a year. . . .

And if Brazil, Canada, Peru, Australia, Soviet Russia—if all the Allied countries were to say, "Come on, temporary refuge here"—

But they don't say it. Any more than we do.

The Emergency Committee sees fit to keep silent about us and about everybody else except Britain and Palestine (and now Turkey as an extra little whipping boy en route). It sees fit to keep silent about the new anti-alien legislation, anti-Jewish legislation, the closing frontiers. . . . It does not fight the legislation which keeps popping up in our own Congress—to cut immigration 10 percent, 50 percent, 90 percent, to end it altogether.

It is easier of course to point the finger at another country. It is easier to cry shame at Britain for *her* immigration laws in Palestine. I cry shame too—don't think I don't. But I cry it at us first. . . . If one is a Zionist, if one believes in the Jewish state, the Jewish flag and the Jewish army, it's right to fight hard for those beliefs and get all publicity for Palestine and for them. But if the main intent is to save lives, why not be fighting to open the gates of Palestine *and* the United States *and* Australia, Africa, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, South America and a couple of other tight-lipped, tight-locked places as well?

Beverly Hills, Calif. LAURA Z. HOBSON

The Archbishop of Winnipeg

SIR: Your readers might be interested to see what is, I believe, an exact copy of a letter sent by Archbishop Sinnott of Winnipeg to "My Dear Catholic Parents."

New York City L. M.

[ENCLOSURE]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE
353 St. Mary's Ave.

Winnipeg, Man., March 1st, 1944.

My dear Catholic Parents,

I have received from the Pastors of the different Parishes a list of those who have boys overseas. Some time ago, as you are aware, I called on Catholic Mothers to enroll their boys as Perpetual Members of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. I said: "What better guarantee for any boy exposed to all the hazards of war! A guarantee, should he be killed, that he will go at once to his Maker, to be with Him for all eternity. A guarantee, should it be God's will, that he will return to his dear Mother and to those who love him." This has been explained to you over and over again, from the pulpit and you have been urged to enroll your boys. A few, who have been personally contacted, have answered the appeal, but all the others have maintained a stolid indifference. If I were to conclude that you are indifferent to the safety of your boy, I would be doing you a grave injustice. *You are not indifferent.* What then can be the reason for the inaction! Some say, in fact many say, that they cannot afford it. That is not a reason, that is a specious excuse, unworthy of a Catholic Mother. You receive a portion of the boy's pay, and what better use can you make of it. "Oh," you answer, "I am trying to have a nest egg for my boy when he returns." *When he returns.* Wouldn't it be better to take the best means you know to ensure the boy's return. If he does not return, what good, under heaven, will the "nest egg" be to him. I am not advising you to take the boy's money, I would much prefer that you use your own money. But, if you must take the boy's money, take it as a loan. Surely you will be able to make it up in the years to come. Do you not think, with a little economy and a few less shows, you will be able to set aside one dollar a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

month, until the full amount is paid up? It is not necessary to pay the $40.00 at once. You can pay any sum you wish, by instalments. You can pay, say, $5.00 a month, or $10.00 every three months. You can take a year, you can take two years, you can even take three years. Three years, that is almost the equivalent of One Dollar per month. The important thing is to ensure the boy's safety, as far as we can do so,—his safety in time and eternity.

One Catholic Mother in this Archdiocese enrolled her boy on Feb. 20th, paying $20.00. He was killed on Feb. 22nd. Do you not think that the mother's heart found some consolation in what she had done?

I have placed this matter in the hands of the Franciscan Fathers, at 233 Carlton Street (Tel. 29 136). If you want further explanation, see them or get in touch with them. If time permits, they will probably get in touch with you.

Dear Catholic Parents, we have a chance to do something that will live long in the Annals of the Church in Western Canada, and let us merit God's blessing by doing it.

Yours very devotedly in Xto.,

✠ ALFRED A. SINNOTT,
Abp. of Winnipeg

Upon receiving the foregoing material, the editors of The New Republic wrote to Archbishop Sinnott asking him to let us know whether the letter is genuine. Archbishop Sinnott replied, saying: "I think the enclosed copy of a letter that I wrote to a local newspaperman will give you the information you seek." The full text of this letter appears below:

(Copy)

Winnipeg, April 7th 1944.

My dear Mr. O'Malley,

I understand, that a letter of mine has reached the Tribune and that you are all properly scandalized. I do not blame you, when you did not see the previous letter. I did not say that $40.00 would ensure salvation, any more than $40,000.00 would. I said "what better guarantee," in the sense that, if there be a guarantee, (which there is not), what better title to God's mercy than to help spread the Gospel of Christ. Spreading the Word of Life is listed among the best of good works. If there be a guarantee (and, I repeat, there is not) to my mind, a good unselfish life, devoted to works of mercy and love, for the benefit of our fellowmen, is among the best. The upbringing of a good boy by a tireless, devoted, religious Mother, would be listed in the same class. To guarantee heaven for $40.00 would be pure, unadulterated fraud.

A sentence torn from the context can be made to mean anything.

Very sincerely yours,

ALFRED A. SINNOTT,
ARCHBISHOP, OF WINNIPEG.

The Schools and the Right to Vote

SIR: One of the chief symptoms of illness is apathy. When a child lies still and quiet in the bed, you want the doctor quickly.

The chief symptom of the American voter that is causing concern at this time to the friends of democracy is apathy. Even when we take into account the fact that millions of young men are away in the armed forces and that war industries have displaced thousands of other potential voters, still we cannot deny that people are not going to the polls as they should.

In the case of Virginia, only about 24 percent of the possible voters are qualified to vote. In the city of Alexandria the qualified voters number 13,300, but in the recent city election only three thousand and some odd voted.

Concrete action is being taken to remedy this situation in Virginia. The recent meeting of the Northern Virginia Parent-Teacher Association passed a resolution calling on the affiliated PTA's to set aside one week in the year, preferably just before the time for payment of poll taxes, as "Better Citizenship Week." During this week, the PTA will make an effort to see that all of its members become qualified voters.

The second part of the program is to enlist the aid of the school system so that programs can be given in the schools to the children on the value and meaning of citizenship and the vote. We hope to make the children conscious of the rights and duties of the American citizen.

One interesting sidelight on the recent Supreme Court decision banning white primaries is that the Negro schools in Atlanta, Georgia, have begun classes on "How to Vote."

People who have been deprived of the vote do not take it lightly. The average American citizen, however, takes the right to vote for granted, and in so doing is in danger of losing his most valuable weapon in the fight for freedom.

VIRGINIA DURR, President,
Fairfax, Va. Lee-Jackson Parent-Teacher Asssociation

The Paper Shortage

SIR: Your issue of May 29 weighs a little more than one ounce. Ten days ago one mail delivery loaded my mailbox with *one pound* of advertising circulars not one of which I opened and all of which went into the wastebasket. I showed them to the postmaster and had him weigh them. He reports the mails are heavy with such junk. Most of the products offered could be obtained only with high priorities. Every day brings from one-quarter to one-half a pound of such material. This is the paper situation at a time when great difficulty is being found in getting proper cartons for shipping food to the boys overseas. The War Production Board is doing a handsome job—for somebody!

North Rose, N. Y. L. J. SALTER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Sumner Gerard, treasurer of the Committee for Constitutional Government, writes to deny the statement by Helen Fuller in her article, "The Invisible Congress" (The New Republic, March 20), that the Committee for Constitutional Government is advocating the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment. He says "this is a flat misstatement of fact." He admits, however, that the Committee is advocating a limit of 25 percent, by constitutional amendment, except in time of war, on the power of the federal government to tax income, inheritance and estates. Such an amendment would be incompatible with the Sixteenth Amendment, which gives Congress unlimited power to levy and collect taxes on incomes. Fourteen state legislatures have already adopted resolutions favoring the 25-percent limit, and several of these resolutions begin by saying "the Sixteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed." If Mr. Gerard feels his organization is not supporting the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment, he just doesn't know the facts. This plan for an arbitrary limit on taxes is one of the worst proposals now before the American people, and we hope our readers will fight it on every possible occasion.

Mary Keating Sparkuhl of Rochester, Minnesota, writes to disagree with former Senator George Norris (The New Republic, May 22) as to what should be done with Germany after the war. She advocates a policy of giving "economic equality and security to all," as the best chance of putting an end to war. . . . Completely opposed to Mrs. Sparkuhl's ideas are those of H. S. Rosenberg of Toronto, Canada. Mr. Rosenberg proposes that German soldiers, from the rank of private through to major, serve periods of from three years to life in labor gangs; that Hitler and his immediate associates, as well as officers and men guilty of war atrocities, be put to death, and that Germany be governed by the United Nations for a period of 25 years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

The Might of the President

THERE ARE, I take it, a number of ways to write about the trend toward executive government. If all of them are right, they are not all equally free of hazards. Harold Laski, in an urbane essay, reconciles the strong man with the good of humanity. Wilfred Binkley, in less limpid and more penetrating prose, sets down the authority resident in an enlarging office. Now George Fort Milton[1] runs the thread of presidential power through the whole course of the nation's history. His method, bolder and less disciplined than that of Laski or Binkley, has its own drive and its own pitfall. Its narrative style, with its accent forever upon the human being in the White House, gives color and march and incident. Its focus on the personal tends to illustrate, rather than to define or appraise, a changing institution. Excitement is bought at the price of analysis.

It is the blend of the old with the unfamiliar which gives charm to the book. On hardly a page will the reader fail to discover some item which is alike fresh and in point. And the parade of novelty he can enjoy in comfort; for nothing will obtrude seriously to disturb the accepted appraisals of our several Mr. Presidents. That his judgments fail to startle establishes a strong presumption that they are correct. He finds in the lot he surveys eight strong men —Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, TR, Woodrow Wilson, FDR—and a dissenter has to be blessed with courage, imagination and charity to add another name. As story follows story, the use of power is conditioned by the occasion which each individual met and his distinctive idiom of action in meeting it.

The "contribution"—engaging detail aside—is a series of criteria for appraising strength or weakness. As it is expounded here, the executive power foliates into five offices. Our Heap Big Chief is at once Chief of State, Commander-in-Chief, Chief of Foreign Affairs, Chief of Public Opinion, Chief of Party. The book marches right along without the imposition of such a methodological device upon the journalist's craft. Nor is the device, as a technique of the higher learning, immune to the higher criticism. The art of politics has not yet gone genetic enough to produce unit characters in competence specialized to these several uses. Foreign affairs may become a matter of state; public opinion is an important prop to party; the great bulk of the work of the Commander-in-Chief is concerned with civil affairs. Even if such offices could be separated, they have been much too fluid over the years to serve as norms of comparison. As yet, unscientific as it may be, we cannot reduce the comparative performances of Jackson, A., and Cleveland G., to the precision of batting averages.

The five-pronged device is quite unnecessary. For, where the returns are all in, the author's judgments are sound. It is, however, upon the contemporary scene that the argument converges; and there it is unfortunate that the wisdom of the future is not at hand for a correction of current comment. That FDR has already made the history books goes without saying; how his score will stack up depends upon a climate of opinion still in the making. That he is a better politician than economist is a statement that will probably pass. That his foresight is extraordinary does not exactly jibe with the theme that "he plays by ear." For it is the essence of playing by ear to neglect a problem until it has reached the stage of crisis. It may be that FDR has proved himself a "genius as a world strategist." I wouldn't know, but neither would George Fort Milton; and as yet posterity has not had its say. Although he sets down counts against FDR, the author does not hesitate to read his personal judgment as the verdict of history. The tendency, everywhere dominant in these later chapters to turn personal fealty into downright greatness, appears typically in his judgment of Cordell Hull, that "gallant old eagle" who has so soundly formulated and brilliantly executed our foreign policy. As a native of the state —like Hull and Milton—I will admit that being from Tennessee helps a lot. The reiterated eulogy of the Secretary is good old home-town stuff at Carthage or Tullahoma or Madisonville. But it is not quite enough to overcome the stubborn fact that our foreign policy is nothing good enough to write home about and that hands more sinister than Hull's have helped to shape it.

In fact these final chapters—the heart of the book—need that third dimension which time can impart. The role of the reviewer is not that of time; but even a different point of vantage offers a slight corrective. Milton is more sensitive to FDR's use of power than to his failure to use it. He refers to taking over the mines as a device by which a "surrender" to John L. Lewis was beautified. But he makes no mention of the great capital strike which for months held up the production of defense materials and he has little to say about the ultimate surrender to big business. His silence extends to the accelerating trends toward the concentration of wealth, the corporate regimentation of industry, the communism of the right. He quotes approvingly a statement about how nice it is for industrialists "to produce for the motive of winning the war instead of making more profits." The real question is why fat contracts were not enough to lure into the war effort concerns engaged in the pursuit of gain, or why in addition political power had to be delegated to our worshipful companies. He refers to the "miracle of production" without asking why the miracle has been so partial and so costly. Nor does he ask how efficiently the product has been used or why a rare opportunity to advance the useful arts has been neglected. For him what the war is about moves on the level of official propaganda; he seems completely to miss the universal civil war in the present world conflict. And, getting back to our dear old Tennessee, he does not go into the question of how much of a nullity cartel arrangements have made of Hull's reciprocal-trade pacts. Into the pros and cons of Mr. Roosevelt's domestic appeasement policy this is not the place to go. It may be that he could enlist the generalissimos

[1] The Use of Presidential Power, by George Fort Milton. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 349 pages. $3.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of industry in the war effort only on their own terms. It may be that he was under no necessity to surrender to them the conduct of public affairs—and to leave to the New Deal responsibility for politics in which it had little voice. The point is that an abundance of stuff is at hand for a critical essay upon the severe limits within which, even in this time of crisis, the presidential power is used.

Above all the office of President is not an isolated thing. It waxes and wanes with the man in the White House and the course of human events. It also gets remade in its relation to the federal establishment. An equation of power in terms of an antithesis between Executive and Congress is outmoded. An inspection of the votes on important bills will demonstrate as much; the division invariably does serious violence to party lines. In a culture which with a bang has gone urban, industrial, pecuniary, the state has had to assume new offices. Its duties demand an everyday oversight which is beyond the special competence of Congress; its obligations involve the continuous operation of specialized agencies. As a result the federal government is as sprawlingly focused in the White House as upon the Hill. Each division has its own task, personnel, folkways; each has its own zone of independence, its own fealty to legislative or executive; each is susceptible to influences by interests which know how to converge their pressures and keep up the heat. The real division of power is between representative government as manifest in President and Congress and the rulers of the national economy who operate outside the democratic process. The administrative establishment, here for keeps, is too diverse and too gigantic to be played upon by ear; a dominant factor in the conduct of the state has come to be the operation of the economy. It is not least among the gifts of the war that it has thrown into relief the current constitutional crisis. Checks unknown to the sacred parchment have come into being and a balance of power is yet to be achieved. It is within this institutional setting that the use of presidential power needs most to be explored. WALTON HAMILTON

India Finds a Voice

Voiceless India, by Gertrude Emerson. New York: The John Day Company. 458 pages. $3.

THE REAPPEARANCE of "Voiceless India," with introductions by Rabindranath Tagore and Pearl S. Buck, is testimony to the essential permanence of the Indian way of life and also to the classical quality of the book. Changes have taken place in India since 1930 but they have been chiefly in the political sphere, and of politics the author has almost nothing to say. Living alone in a village, under the favor and protection of the Maharaja of Balrampur, Miss Emerson (now Gertrude Emerson Sen) could not with propriety discuss the relation of the native states to the nationalist movement for a federated India, and without official backing her enterprise would have been impossible. Instead she has done something far more valuable.

In spite of travel through British India and the Indian states, of conversation with hundreds of people from the Viceroy and Gandhi down to her Mohammedan bearer, she felt that India had eluded her. To come into contact with the people in their economic, social and religious life, residence among them was necessary, and this she achieved in the village of Pachperwa, or Five Trees, in Oude under the shadow of the Himalayas. There she knew everyone. Her sympathetic participation in their lives brought her recognition as a friend and helper. From personal contact with individuals, from the tahsildar, or official collector of revenue, to the sweepers, with cultivators, merchants, money lenders, Brahmins and holy men, with wives in purdah and her own devoted retainers, she has written a classic of village life on a larger and more significant scale than Mrs. Gaskell in "Cranford" or Miss Mitford in "Our Village"—a character sketch of Pachperwa; and as 90 percent of the Indians live in similar conditions it may be added that she has drawn a character sketch of India.

Against a uniform background of poverty, disease and superstition, an astonishing diversity of humanity appears in this community of two hundred houses. One is faced at once with the fact that India is a congeries of many races and clans, each with its special characteristics and proclivities. There are the Tharus, remnant of a once powerful tribe of Mongolian origin, who thatched Miss Emerson's house; the Marwaris, scattered over India by a famine in their once native province, who are money lenders, surpassed by Yasim Khan, the Pathan, whose rate of interest was 96 percent; the Sikhs, who are addicted to foreign travel. Over all is the fundamental cleavage in religion between Hindus and Mussulmans who in Pachperwa lived in harmony, enjoying each other's holidays. It amused the author to find Hindus celebrating with special gusto the great Mohammedan festival commemorating the martyrdom of Hossein and Hassan, the sons of Ali. Holy men, or Sadhus, were equally respected whether Hindus or Mussulmans. It would seem that communal hostility has been exaggerated in recent times for political purposes, and that these differences and others will be dissolved in the melting pot of a free India. Even the caste system, which has maintained the fabric of Indian life for centuries, seems to affect village life in ceremonial rather than essential matters, and to make for solidarity rather than separation.

The entire life of the village was determined by poverty —by want and fear of want—affecting poor and rich, borrower and lender, who represent the divergency in India's economy. India is fundamentally agricultural, but in efficiency she ranks twenty-second among all countries. Miss Emerson gives a graphic account of the difficulties in the way of improvement. If a cultivator had the wherewithal to buy an iron plow to replace the wooden one which merely scratches the earth, it would be too heavy for him to transport from village to field, and for his bullocks to draw. The system of landholding in Pachperwa, where all the land belonged to the Maharaja, was infamous, leaving the cultivator at the mercy of the rent collector and money lender. Over all hangs the caprice of the monsoon. It is clear why the income of the Indian farmer is less than twenty-five dollars a year.

Miss Emerson avoids politics. Perhaps there was none in the village except for Devi Prasad, the non-coöperator. Nevertheless the relation of the economic state of the country to its political condition of servitude becomes readily apparent. For one thing the long period of ruthless exploitation by the East India Company has left ruin which the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It must not be supposed that it is easy to be free"

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

studies the laws and precedents that form our civil rights today. A lawyer, writing for laymen, he provides the average citizen with a survey of our democratic heritage, from the Bill of Rights to the latest decision of the Supreme Court. $3.00

OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES

"A most excellent guide through the labyrinth."
—William L. Shirer

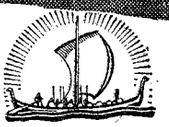
A brilliant anticipation of the conflicting issues of national interests which must be satisfied before we can call this war truly ended. A practical guide to these complexities by the noted European commenator, now International Advisor to the *Reader's Digest*. $3.00

The COMING STRUGGLE for PEACE

by ANDRE VISSON

3 VITAL BOOKS ABOUT OUR WORLD

The Viking Press, New York



ONE OF THE MOST ORIGINAL THINKERS TODAY
LOOKS FOR A NEW FAITH TO BRING US OUT OF CHAOS

Harold J. Laski draws the historic parallel between Christianity and the reanimating spirit that he finds today in Russia. He suggests that we are at the end of an age, as we were at the fall of the Roman Empire, and that once again mankind is finding a new and valid faith. $2.50

FAITH, REASON, and CIVILIZATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

efforts of a more enlightened administration have not yet made good. The new irrigation works in the Indus valley do not compensate for the failure to maintain the canal system in Bengal. Except as repayment of a political debt, it cannot be believed that the government of India would allow the estate of Balrampur to collect an income of $1,500,000 a year from its tenants. The Maharaja, then aged thirteen, enjoyed five rupees a month for pocket money, but his sister's wedding cost $400,000. A form of extortion for which British officials are directly responsible was occasioned by the visit of the Governor of the United Provinces to Balrampur for ten days of shooting. A thousand men were commandeered for a month to prepare a camp and the estate granted 5,000 rupees for entertainment. Above all, the domination of a foreign power discourages leadership and kills initiative.

Survivals of feudalism in the form of forced labor and numerous exactions remind one of the state of the French peasantry before the Revolution. The *gabelle* has its prototype in the salt tax, a cruel imposition on the poorest against which Gandhi's famous protest was directed. Miss Emerson suspected that the house built for her by the estate cost days of forced labor for which she tried to compensate by its use as a clinic and dispensary, which she administered for such diseases as "fevers, goiter, dropsy, rheumatism, tuberculosis, anemia, smallpox, leprosy, dysentery, jaundice, stomach complaints, broken bones, syphilis, epilepsy, insanity, cuts and abrasions, boils and abscesses, skin diseases, blood poisoning, worms of every variety, rickets, scorpion and dog bites, trachoma and every known eye trouble."

In spite of the misery by which she was surrounded, the net result of her report is not depressing. The people with whom she lived maintained, on the whole, a resignation and humility in accepting the will of God which became cheerfulness and even gayety on occasions. Bad and good, they reflect a simple, kindly humanity, nowhere more strikingly than in the courtesy, good will and solicitude with which they received the wise foreign lady who had come to give a voice to India.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Mrs. Fischer's Russia

My Lives in Russia, by Markoosha Fischer. New York: Harper and Brothers. 269 pages. $2.75.

MOST WRITING about the Soviet Union is colored by two kinds of bias. Not only are there the well recognized passions, mounting in intensity as the years go by; there is usually, even in the more careful studies, a subtle distortion of the author's awareness of his subject. Writers, especially the more or less disillusioned, lose sight of their own past, either exaggerating their infatuation for the sake of contrast or minimizing the convictions they once held. What makes Mrs. Fischer's book so impressive is that it tells us what she felt in 1917 and 1928 and 1936 as well as what she feels in 1944.

Born in Russia, Mrs. Fischer left the country in 1915, hating tsardom. She returned in 1922, a partisan of the revolution. What she saw in that year, despite hardships and the disillusionments resulting from the introduction of the New Economic Plan, confirmed her allegiance to the revolutionary regime. She saw pain and ugliness, but she had not been foolish enough to expect that the birth of a new society would be easy. The promise of the Soviet Union was so great, and the opposition, inside and outside, was so wrong-headed, that she could not help taking sides.

During her long stay in Russia—she was there most of the time from 1927 to 1939—this process of balancing good and evil went on in her mind. Until the very end, the good seemed dominant, and even when the scales tipped the other way, she did not forget that the good was there. As early as 1929 or 1930, she felt that independent thought was dying out: "Life had gained tremendously in excitement and exuberance, and had lost in honesty and decency." Year by year honesty and decency waned, until at last, after the purges had begun, "fear and insincerity dominated every field of life." Yet as her disillusionment grew, Mrs. Fischer was always conscious of the millions of Russians to whom the revolution had brought opportunity. That, of course, was the essence of the tragedy: if the regime had not in considerable measure served the interests of the masses, neither skillful propaganda nor ruthless terror could have achieved the destruction of freedom.

Mrs. Fischer left Russia because of her craving for personal freedom. "Freedom," she writes, "is more than the right to speak out. Freedom is friendship, truth, mental security, spiritual cleanliness." She reached the United States in 1939, but even then she felt, as did so many others, that she must not attack the Soviet Union because its enemies were her enemies. It was the Soviet-Nazi pact that gave her the right to speak. Nor have subsequent events changed her mind: "Nothing anyone has said since in defense of this atrocious pact can convince me that it was necessary or that there was no other way to act at that time but to tell Hitler that he was going to have no second front if he started a war."

The value of "My Lives in Russia" lies not in novelty but in concreteness and palpable honesty. Mrs. Fischer never pretends that she possesses the ultimate truth about the Soviet Union, but she does set down in simple, direct narrative what she knows to be facts. Her facts are particularly important for those liberals who, often as they have been jilted, are still carrying on a flirtation with the USSR. Among these liberals a strange kind of sentimentality, trying to pass itself off as realism, defends acts on Stalin's part that it would never excuse if they were performed by Roosevelt or Churchill. Its ultimate justification is a faith—never so simple, of course, as the faith of the Soviet patriots, but almost as hardy—that the USSR is somehow, in spite of everything, on the side of righteousness. This faith is as blind as the faith of certain other persons in the benevolence of British imperialism, and being blind it can probably survive Mrs. Fischer's book. A reasoned liberalism, however, is forced to draw from Mrs. Fischer's facts the conclusion that, however admirable some of the USSR's achievements are, its values are the antithesis of liberal values.

This conclusion Mrs. Fischer does draw, but, characteristically and properly, she spends little time in speculation. The reader, however, is likely to ask himself a good many questions. For one thing, the book emphasizes the arbitrariness with which Soviet authority acts: the striking down of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HE SPEAKS FOR MILLIONS

What do his words mean to you?

Huge numbers of Americans regard the Vice-president as the most forceful and consistently liberal thinker in this country today. To you, as an informed, intelligent citizen, his viewpoint is necessarily of vital importance. Do you know where he stands on the problems of war and peace—on the counter currents of internal national policy—on the integrity of our post-war democracy? A great leader has defined his convictions with clarity, force and logic. $3.00

by HENRY A. WALLACE

With an intimate profile by Russell Lord

DEMOCRACY REBORN

REYNAL and HITCHCOCK, New York

B. H. SUMNER noted English authority on Russia

traces the seven basic influences which have controlled the development of the world's greatest world empire. Called a "short history" because of its conciseness, this lively, readable volume covers over a thousand years of Russian history. The author treats his subject by topic—the Frontier, the State, the Land, the Church, the Slavs, the Sea, the West. "Easily the best single-volume introduction to Russia now available . . ."—*N.Y.Times Book Review. Illustrated with maps and photographs.* $3.75

A SHORT HISTORY of RUSSIA

Famous—

OF COURSE! It's one of the most discussed books in years.

Successful—

ENORMOUSLY! It's selling over 80,000 a month. More than 300,000 copies are now in print

Distinguished—

MOST OF ALL! Its literary quality and deep significance have been hailed throughout America. $2.75

by LILLIAN SMITH

STRANGE FRUIT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the RAPP, the reversal of the policy of forced collectivization, the abrupt changes in manners and dress. Again and again loyal Soviet citizens have been compelled to express passionate enthusiasm for the exact opposite of what they had been advocating the preceding day. One wonders whether this arbitrariness has been simply the result of bureaucratic stupidity or should be regarded as a calculated policy for the crushing of independence of thought. (The sucker is never given an even break: though the new policy is one he has always favored, he is forced to humiliate himself in accepting it.) Studies of the Nazi regime—about which we know so much more than we do about the inner workings of the Soviet dictatorship—suggest that it is a mistake to attribute to a dictator designs of superhuman cunning. There is cunning enough, certainly, but it is on the lower levels, for the true opportunist leaves major decisions to circumstances. If Mrs. Fischer is right about the basic loyalty of the overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens, the whole machinery of terror, repression and manipulation seems strangely out of proportion to the government's needs, and we are left baffled by the spectacle of a regime that seems to be defeating its own ends.

The sense of the mysteriousness of the Soviet Union is a factor in American distrust of that country. I have talked with hundreds of persons who have no desire to fight Russia but who believe, with the characteristic fatalism of our times, that war is inevitable. "Honest efforts to create a progressive, decent world," Mrs. Fischer says, "will be more helpful in democratizing Russia than all the sugary lies told by her political friends and certainly more than the vicious lies told by her enemies." This is a sensible working hypothesis, and yet one wonders how much effect events in the outside world can have, things being as they are, on the people of the Soviet Union. It should not diminish our own zeal for peace or our sense of our own responsibilities to consider what might be done on the other side.

Mrs. Fischer's book is not only informative; it provides a model for our thinking about the USSR. She has the ability to look at two contradictory sets of facts at the same time. It is a gift that does not make for impressive generalizations but does inspire confidence. Mrs. Fischer makes no claims to omniscience, but she treats with so much respect the small sector of truth that is hers that it looms very large.

GRANVILLE HICKS

Civil Liberty in America

Our Civil Liberties, by Osmond K. Fraenkel. New York: The Viking Press. 277 pages. $3.

BECAUSE he writes in the great tradition of political liberalism, the author of this most complete and up-to-date survey of the civil-liberties problem fails to answer the burning questions arising in an age of revolutionary change toward economic and political collectivism. He approaches the present anti-fascist war as if it were merely an interlude between two periods of peace. Although he hints at the question whether civil liberties should be denied to those who use them for the purpose of destroying democracy, he answers it by assertion rather than by analysis of the nature of anti-democratic propaganda and techniques. "Let us not waste our energies by attempting to suppress advocacy of opinion, however hateful that opinion may be to us," he says. "Let us concentrate, instead, on the removal of those features of our national life which produce the conditions that encourage such advocacy." But these conditions may not be remedied soon enough to deprive the enemies of democracy of their poisonous powder. Only three years ago, when the armies of fascism were still marching unchecked, an optimistic view of the future as presumed in this volume might have been disastrous.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Fraenkel refuses to deal with the freedom-of-speech questions inherent in the seditious-conspiracy case against 29 defendants now being tried in a Washington court. While he seems to believe that democratic socialism is possible and congruous with the continued existence of civil liberties, he omits to indicate governmental and judicial ways and means for their extension in a collectivist society, relying exclusively on the assertion that such adjustment depends "on the will of the people to be free, on their active participation in all the functions of government, on their refusal to yield to intolerance and on their ability to control those whom they place in positions of power." In other words, he fails to translate democratic aspirations into institutional terms or operational rules which make freedom practicable in a society that is undergoing change from one economic structure into another.

Aside from these and some other shortcomings, "Our Civil Liberties" fills a gap which has long existed. For it is primarily a book for the layman seeking an over-all view of the status of the civil-liberties problem in all its phases, from religious liberty, freedom of speech, searches and seizures, self-incrimination and trial by jury, to equal protection, suffrage and habeas corpus.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

The Malthusian Situation

The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union, by Frank W. Notestein and Others. New York: Columbia University Press. 315 pages. $2.75.

IF YOU WERE TO ASK a high-school student or a congressman what he thinks about Malthus, you would no doubt be told that "Malthus is licked." But the scientists who wrote this book are not so sure: "A few decades ago demographic discussion revolved around the dangers of overpopulation. These dangers have not disappeared; in much of the world there is still a heavy pressure of population on developed resources, and the Malthusian controls of hunger, privation, pestilence and war are the principal checks to growth. Indeed, the Malthusian situation has been so general that it seems almost as typical of man as of other forms of life."

The nineteenth century was an area of comparative peace and prosperity. This happy combination of circumstances was due to the rapid exploitation of a rich New World by a mechanized civilization. Today the New World countries have restricted immigration, and the richest of them, the United States, is looking about the world for minerals and top soil to replenish her own depleted stocks. This is not a pretty picture, considering the world population is three times as large as it was 150 years ago,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HERE'S A NEW IDEA IN PUBLISHING!

Condensations of the Great Books of the Past that Moved the World, Mostly in the Right Direction

"BOOK DIGEST"

How many of us complain now and then how we regret serious gaps in our reading—and do nothing about it. The explanation is always that time's too short to be able to read the great books that have contributed to the world's progress or influenced the civilized world for generations after they first appeared. Yes, the excuse is valid, for most of these "old" books are pretty fat tomes.

BOOK DIGEST is our answer to this problem in culture. We have taken each volume apart, studied it, cut out the dead matter, put it together again—and here it is, in condensed form, down to somewhere between 15,000 and 25,000 words, an easy evening's reading. BOOK DIGEST will enable you to grasp the significant cultural moments of the past and thereby help you to better comprehend the meaning of current culture.

We have chosen for this important literary project an editor who has turned out a brilliant job that is sure to command the respect and praise of the discriminating. Her name is Miriam Allen deFord, of San Francisco. Miss deFord has written numerous books for the Haldeman-Julius presses. For many years she has been looked on as a competent student and a conscientious literary artist. Now she has turned her ample talents to popularizing the past's books that moved humanity, mostly for good, but sometimes for bad, ends. Other authors will cooperate, of course.

BOOK DIGEST is being issued at the rate of one each week. The first issue is now ready for immediate distribution. If you want a complete file, please rush back the order blank printed below. The price is only $1 for the first 10 issues. A single copy costs 25c, but if you order all 10 issues at one time you enjoy the bargain price of 10c per issue.

BOOK DIGESTS now being issued are as follows:

1. Robert Blatchford's "Not Guilty—A Defense of the Bottom Dog."
2. Bellamy's "Looking Backward."
3. William Morris' "News From Nowhere."
4. Winwood Reade's "The Martyrdom of Man."
5. Thoreau's "Walden."
6. Daniel Defoe's "Journal of the Plague Year."
7. Mary Wollstonecraft's "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman."
8. Richard Wagner's "Judaism in Music," with an answer by Miriam Allen deFord.
9. "Religion As a Bar to Progress." A digest of Andrew D. White's famous book, "The Warfare Between Science and Theology." Condensed by Charles T. Gorham.
10. Morgan's "Ancient Society: Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization."

Additional titles will be announced soon.

BOOK DIGEST is being printed in an attractive format—5½ x 8½ inches, on good paper, legible type. Each issue contains from 15,000 to 25,000 words. Most issues will consist of 32 pages. This means that each condensation is in itself a substantial piece of literature, but can be handled easily in an evening's reading, whereas the original book might take a week to read. It's no easy job to take a book of about 100,000 words and condense it to 15,000 words, including a foreword that gives a sketch of the writer's life, his place in literary history and the significance of the book under consideration. Miss Miriam Allen deFord has done 9 of the first 10 issues of BOOK DIGEST. We know readers will agree with our assertion that she has done an intelligent, expert, helpful, constructive service to literature.

Here are the books we all must read if we are to understand the cultural and scientific forces that led up to our present stage in the evolution of knowledge and understanding. Yes, these are the books we must read but never get around to, because of the pressure of time. We offer a solution — ample, generous-sized digests by an able, informed, competent editor. This list will grow, but for the moment we are interested in selling the first 10 issues. The price is surprisingly low — only $1 for the first 10 issues of the BOOK DIGEST. Send in your subscription today so that you will get a complete file of this new periodical, beginning with Vol. 1, No. 1. Address: Haldeman-Julius Publications, Box 1201, Girard, Kansas.

ORDER BLANK FOR "BOOK DIGEST"

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Box 1201, Girard, Kansas.

Enclosed please find $1, which is payment in full for the first 10 issues of BOOK DIGEST.

Name ..... Address .....

City ..... State .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and was increasing at the rate of about 20 million a year just before this war.

It is against this background that we must consider the problems of Europe and the Soviet Union. The natural resources of the New World were taken advantage of by the industrialized countries of Northern and Central Europe to grow in population and wealth. Those countries now find themselves crowded with people, but with the prospect of losing most of the overseas markets which supported their swollen numbers. The United States has outstripped them in industrialization; the Soviet Union is catching up fast, and other so-called backward countries may try to establish their own industries. Is it any wonder that the birth rates of countries of Northern and Central Europe are low? In the circumstances, efforts to augment their birth rates will merely add to the misery.

In the meantime, the populations of countries of Southern and Eastern Europe are still increasing with considerable speed. Russia's population is growing still faster and shows no signs of stopping in the near or distant future. According to the forecasts of the writers of this book: "By 1970 the USSR, in its 1937 boundaries, has as large a source of primary military manpower as Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Poland, Spain and Rumania combined, these being the seven European countries with the greatest forces of manpower outside of the Soviet Union." Yet by 1970 the population of the Soviet Union is just getting a good start.

It is obvious that the peace of Europe and of the world will depend largely upon Russia's population policy. If that country can slow down its huge and most rapidly increasing expansionist policy in connection with Eastern Europe, China or India, there is a possibility of peace in the future. In any case, the growing and potential power of Russia must be reckoned with a great deal more than in the past.

One thing is certain, Western Europe cannot hope to compete with Russia in a cradle competition, any more than the United States can compete with India or China. If there is to be peace on earth in the future, all nations must adopt, or be forced to adopt, a long-range program of population limitation. This applies to Russia and the United States as well as to India and China. There are no favorites in this game.

This book contains many valuable and ingenious picture charts of future population growth, manpower and changes in age of the population. GUY IRVING BURCH

A Reader's List

A GERMAN SOLDIER (*The Infantry Journal*, 25 cents). The military student will find only one term to describe this booklet. It is altogether admirable, whether judged from the standpoint of economical presentation of a great body of knowledge, or whether it is judged by the effect it will have upon the spirit of our own soldiery. In it the German soldier, primarily the infantryman, is presented as he is: as a competent and determined fighter of considerable technical resourcefulness but shorn of all those fanatical and mystical attributes with which popular journalism tended to credit him at the beginning of the war. There is, of course, no attempt to minimize the enemy's prowess. Salient facts about German weapons, manner of their use, and early campaigns are presented in correct focus, as is our own present superiority in material. The values of our own resources, human and physical, are reticently but sturdily insisted upon. The booklet should be of great value to junior officers in contact with men. It should be noted that while the authors are concerned with military technique, they acknowledge and briefly describe the political circumstances of Hitler's accession to power as well as the characteristics of his regime. The spirit of the book is strongly democratic and soberly confident. A beautifully poised piece of work.

THE SIX WEEKS' WAR: MAY 10 TO JUNE 25, 1940, by Theodore Draper (Viking, $3). Perhaps this is the forerunner of a new sort of book on the fall of France, rather than a late example of the "Cassandra" schools. Mr. Draper, who is well equipped with the necessary political knowledge and powers of analysis and who understands France's collapse in a political way, is primarily concerned to narrate and analyze the military side of the disaster. He does this very well indeed, with a willing objectivity in temper. He is not afraid to speculate. He has often relied upon reports as yet not confirmed, many of which derive from intimate French underground and National Committee circles. Very judiciously, he makes no use of certain earlier writings of a sensationalist or partisan sort. It is an important book; one that the political rather than the military reader will find indispensable. His final chapter, "The French Lesson," isolates the main contradictions in French foreign policy during the last twenty years. Admirably succinct, it is far from being an orthodox example of the now stereotyped left-wing critical pattern.

Contributors

MAX WERNER's books include "Attack Can Win in '43" and "The Great Offensive: The Strategy of Coalition Warfare."

RALPH BATES served as a brigade commissar with the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war. He is now working on a long novel with an English background, covering the years 1917 to 1943.

RICHARD LEE STROUT, a correspondent for The Christian Science Monitor, is now in London.

MICHAEL YOUNG, British journalist and publicist, is on the staff of Political and Economic Planning, whose pamphlets are reviewed regularly in our pages.

WALTON HAMILTON, a professor at the Yale Law School and an occasional contributor to The New Republic, is the author of "Patents and Free Enterprise."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT is a former editor of The New Republic. He was Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands until that position was abolished by act of Congress.

GRANVILLE HICKS is the author of several books of criticism, biography and fiction, including "The Great Tradition" and "Only One Storm." He is now completing a new novel.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU was formerly Senior Propaganda Analyst for the Department of Justice. He is a regular contributor to The New Republic.

GUY IRVING BURCH is director of the Population Reference Bureau and author, among other works, of "The Reason for Birth Control." He supplied Congress and the Selective Service Board with the age-group data which were used in the original draft bill in 1940.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED